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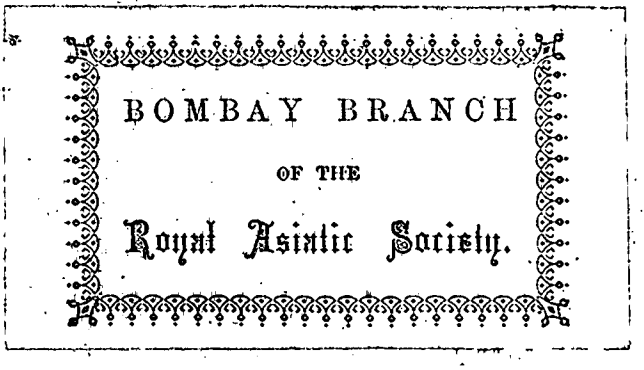

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION,

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. THUCYD.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.

VV-c-3

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS

IN

ENGLAND,

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND,

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

A NEW EDITION,

EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL COLLATION OF THE ORIGINAL MS.,
WITH ALL THE SUPPRESSED PASSAGES;

ALSO

THE UNPUBLISHED NOTES OF BISHOP WARBURTON.

VOL. IV.

31887

OXFORD,
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THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VII.

[a] Mic. iii. 11.

The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? none evil can come upon us.

Mic. vii. 4.

The best of them is as a brier; the most upright is sharper than a thorn-hedge: the day of thy watchmen and thy visitation cometh; now shall be their perplexity.[a]

WHEN the treaty was first consented to by the two houses, they ordered that it should be upon the first proposition made by his majesty, and the first proposition made by themselves, and that those should be first concluded on, before they proceeded to treat upon any of the other propositions. So that the committee, in the first place, applied themselves

1643. The sum of the demands and concessions of both sides upon the

[a] Mic. iii. 11. *The heads—perplexity.*] *Not in MS.*

BOOK VII.

1643. first article of the treaty.

to his majesty, upon his own first proposition, which was, "That his own revenue, magazines, towns, "forts, and ships, which had been taken, or kept "from him by force, should be forthwith restored "to him." To which the committee answered, "That the two houses had made use of his ma- "jesty's own revenue, but in a very small pro- "portion, which in a good part had been employed "in the maintenance of his children, according to "the allowance established by himself. And the "houses would satisfy what should remain due to "his majesty of those sums, which they had re- "ceived; and would leave the same to him for the "time to come. And they desired likewise, that his "majesty would restore what had been taken for "his use, upon any of the bills, assigned to other "purposes by several acts of parliament, or out of "the provision made for the war of Ireland: that "all the arms and ammunition taken out of his ma- "gazines should be delivered into his stores, and "whatsoever should be wanting, they would supply "in kind, according to the proportions they had re- "ceived: but they proposed, the persons, to whose "charge those public magazines should be com- "mitted, being nominated by his majesty, might be "such, as the two houses of parliament might con- "fide in, and that his majesty would restore all such "arms and ammunition, as had been taken for his "use, from the several counties, cities, and towns.

"That the two houses would remove the garri- "sons out of all towns and forts in their hands, "wherein there were no garrisons before these trou- "bles, and slight all fortifications made since that "time, and those towns and forts to continue in the

"same condition they were in before; and that "those garrisons should not be renewed, or the for- "tifications repaired, without consent of his majesty, "and both houses of parliament. That the towns "and forts, which were within the jurisdiction of "the cinque ports, should be delivered into the "hands of such a noble person, as the king should "appoint to be warden of the cinque ports, being "such a one as they should confide in. That Ports- "mouth should be reduced to the number of the "garrison, as was at that time when the lords and "commons undertook the custody of it; and that all "other forts, castles, and towns, in which garrisons "had been kept, and had been since the beginning "of these troubles taken into their care and custody, "should be reduced to the same establishment they "had in the year 1636, and should be so continued; "and that all those towns, forts, and castles, should "be delivered up into the hands of such persons of "quality and trust, to be likewise nominated by his "majesty, as the two houses should confide in. "That the warden of the cinque ports, and all go- "vernors and commanders of towns, castles, and "forts, should keep the same towns, castles, and "forts, respectively, for the service of his majesty, "and the safety of the kingdom; and that they should "not admit into them any foreign forces, or any "other forces raised without his majesty's authority, "and consent of the two houses of parliament; and "they should use their utmost endeavour [b] to sup- "press all forces whatsoever raised without such "authority and consent; and they should seize all

[b] endeavour] endeavours

BOOK VII. 1643.

" arms and ammunition provided for any such " forces.

" They likewise proposed to the king, that he " would remove the garrison out of Newcastle, and " all other towns, castles, and forts, where any gar- " risons had been placed by him since these troubles; " and that the fortifications might be likewise slight- " ed, and the towns and forts left in such state as " they were in the year 1636; and that all other " towns and castles in his hands, wherein there had " been formerly garrisons, might be committed to " such persons nominated by him, as the houses " should confide in, and under such instructions as " were formerly mentioned; and that the new gar- " risons should not be renewed, or the fortifications " repaired, without the consent of the king and both " houses of parliament. That the ships should be " delivered into the charge of such a noble person, " as the king should nominate to be lord high admi- " ral of England, and the two houses confide in; " who should receive that office by letters patents, " *quam diu se bene gesserit*, and should have power " to nominate and appoint all subordinate com- " manders and officers, and have all other powers " appertaining to the office of high admiral; which " ships he should employ for the defence of the " kingdom, against all foreign forces whatsoever, " and for the safeguard of merchants, securing of " trade, and the guarding of Ireland, and the inter- " cepting of all supplies to be carried to the rebels; " and should use his utmost endeavours [c] to suppress " all forces, which should be raised by any person

[c] endeavours] endeavour

" without his majesty's authority, and consent of " the lords and commons in parliament, and should " seize all arms and ammunition provided for supply " of any such forces."

To this answer, by which they required at least to go whole sharers with him in his sovereignty, the king replied, " That he knew not what proportion " of his revenue had been made use of by his two " houses, but he had reason to believe, if much of it " had not been used, very much remained still in " their hands; his whole revenue being so stopped, " and seized on, by the orders of one or both houses, " even to the taking of his money out of his exche- " quer and mint, and bonds (forced from his cof- " ferer's clerk) for the provisions of his household; " that very little had come to his use for his own " support; but he would be well contented to allow " whatsoever had been employed in the maintenance " of his children, and to receive the arrears due to " himself, and to be sure of his own for the future. " He was likewise willing to restore all monies taken " for his use, by any authority from [d] him, upon any " bills assigned to other purposes, being assured he " had received very little or nothing that way: and " he expected likewise, that satisfaction should be " made by them for all those several vast sums, re- " ceived, and diverted to other purposes, by orders " of one or both houses,[e] which ought to have been " paid by the act of pacification to his subjects of " Scotland, or employed for the discharge of the " debts of the kingdom; or, by other acts of parlia- " ment, for the relief of his poor protestant subjects

[d] from] for houses,] *Not in MS.*

[e] by orders of one or both

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" in Ireland. For what concerned his magazines, " he was content that all the arms and ammunition, " taken out of his magazines, which did remain " in the hands of both houses, or of persons em- " ployed by them, should be, as soon as the treaty " was concluded, delivered into the Tower of Lon- " don; and that whatsoever should be wanting of " the proportions taken by them, should be supplied " by them, with all convenient speed, in kind; which, " he said, should be committed to, and continued in, " the custody of the sworn officers, to whose places " the same belonged: and if any of those officers " had already forfeited, or hereafter should forfeit, " that trust, by any misdemeanours, his majesty " would by no means defend them from the justice " of the law. That he always intended to restore " such arms and ammunition, which he had been " compelled to take from any persons and places, " when his own had been taken from him; and " would make them recompense as soon as his own " stores were restored to him.

" To whatsoever they proposed for the slighting " all fortifications, and reducing all garrisons, which " had been made since the beginning of the troubles, " and leaving them in the state they were before, " the king fully and absolutely consented; and that " the old castles and garrisons should be reduced to " their ancient proportion and establishment: but " for the governors and commanders of them, he " said, that the cinque ports were already in the " custody of a noble person, against whom he knew " no just exception, and who had such a legal in- " terest therein, that he could not, with justice, re- " move him from it, until some sufficient cause were

" made appear to him: but he was very willing, if " he should at any time be found guilty of any thing " that might make him unworthy of that trust, that " he might be proceeded against according to the " rules of justice. That the government of the town " of Portsmouth, and all other forts, castles, and " towns, as were formerly kept by garrisons, should " be put into the hands of such persons, against " whom no just exceptions could be made; all of " them being, before these troubles, by letters pa- " tents granted to several persons, against any of " whom he knew not any exceptions who should be " removed, if just cause should be given for the " same. The warden of the cinque ports, and all " other governors and commanders of the towns and " castles, should keep their charges, as by the law " they ought to do, and for the king's service, and " safety of the kingdom; and they should not admit " into any of them foreign forces, or other forces " raised, or [f] brought into them contrary to the law; " but should use their utmost endeavours to suppress " such forces, and should seize all arms and ammu- " nition, which, by the laws and statutes of the " kingdom, they ought to seize."

To that part which concerned the ships, the king told them, " That he expected his own ships should " be delivered to him, as by the law they ought to " be; and that when he should think fit to nominate " a lord high admiral of England, it should be such " a person against whom no just exception could be " made; and if any should be, he would always " leave him to his due trial and examination; and

[f] or], and

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"he would grant his office to him by such letters "patents as had been used. In the mean time he "would govern the admiralty by commission, as had "been in all times accustomed; and whatsoever "ships should be set out by him, or his authority, "should be employed for the defence of the kingdom "against all foreign forces whatsoever, for the safe- "guard of merchants, securing of trade, guarding of "Ireland, and the intercepting of all supplies to be "carried to the rebels; and they should use their "utmost endeavours to suppress all forces which "should be raised, by any person whatsoever, against "the laws and statutes of the kingdom, and to seize "all arms and ammunition provided for the supply "of any such forces."

It is evident to all men where the difference now lay between them, being whether the king would reserve the disposal of those offices and places of trust to himself, which all kings had enjoyed, and was indeed a part of his regality, or whether he would be content with such a nomination, as, being to pass, and depend upon their approbation, no man should ever be admitted to them, who was nominated by him. The committee, upon his majesty's [g] answer, desired to know, "whether [h] he did intend, "that both houses should express their confidence of "the persons, to whose trust those places were to be "committed; for that they were directed by their "instructions, that, if his majesty was pleased to as- "sent thereunto, and to nominate persons of quality "to receive the charge of them, that they should "certify it to both houses of parliament, that there-

[g] his majesty's] his [h] whether] if

"upon they might express their confidence in those "persons, or humbly desire his majesty to name "others, none of which persons to be removed "during three years next ensuing, without just "cause to be approved by both houses; and if any "should be so removed, or die within that space, the "persons, to be put in their places, to be such as the "two houses should confide in." The king answered, "That he did not intend, that the houses "should express their confidence of the persons, to "whose trusts those places should be committed, "but only that they should have liberty, upon any "just exception, to proceed against any such per-"sons according to law; his majesty being resolved "not to protect them against the public justice. "When any of the places should be void, he well "knew the nomination, and free election, of those "who should succeed, to be a right belonging to and "inherent in his majesty; and having been enjoyed "by all his royal progenitors, he could not believe "his well affected subjects desired to limit him in "that right; and desired they would be satisfied "with this answer, or give him any reasons to alter "his resolution, and he would comply with them."

They told him, "there could be no good and firm "peace hoped for, if there were not a cure found "out for the fears and jealousies; and they knew "none sure, but this which they had proposed." The king replied, "That he rather expected reasons "grounded upon law, to have shewed him, by the "law, that[i] he had not that right he pretended, or "that they had a right superior to his, in what was

[i] by the law, that] that by the law

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" now in question; or that they would have shewed " him some legal reason, why the persons trusted " by him were incapable of such a trust; than that " they would only have insisted upon fears and jea- " lousies, of which as he knew no ground, so he " must be ignorant of the cure. That the argument " they used might extend to the depriving him of, " or at least sharing with him in, all his just regal " power; since power, as well as forces, might be " the object of fears and jealousies, and there would " be always a power left to hurt, whilst there was " any left to protect and defend." He told them, " If he had as much inclination, as he had more " right, to fears and jealousies, he might with more " reason have insisted upon an addition of power, " as a security to enable him to keep his forts, when " he had them, since it appeared it was not so great, " but that they had been able to take them from " him, than they to make any difficulty to restore " them to him in the same case they were before. " But, he said, as he was himself content with, so, " he took God to witness, his greatest desire was, to " observe always and maintain the law of the land; " and expected the same from his subjects; and be- " lieved the mutual observance of that rule, and nei- " ther of them to fear what the law feared not, to " be, on both parts, a better cure for that dangerous " disease of fears and jealousies, and a better means " to establish a happy and perpetual peace, than for " him to divest himself of those trusts, which the " law of the land had settled in the crown alone, to " preserve the power and dignity of the prince, for " the better protection of the subject, and of the law, " and to avoid those dangerous distractions, which

"the interest of any sharers with him would have "infallibly produced."

The committee neither offered to answer his majesty's reasons, nor to oppose other reasons to weigh against them; but only said, "That they were com- "manded by their instructions, to insist upon the "desires of both houses formerly expressed." To which the king made no other answer, "than that "he conceived it all the justice in the world for him "to insist, that what was by law his own, and had "been contrary to law taken from him, should be "fully restored to him, without conditioning to im- "pose any new limitations upon him, or his mi- "nisters, which were not formerly required from "them by the law; and he thought it most unrea- "sonable, to be pressed to diminish his own just "rights himself, because others had violated and "usurped them." This was the sum of what passed in the treaty upon that proposition.

To the first proposition of the two houses, "That "his majesty would be pleased to disband his armies, "as they likewise would be ready to disband all their "forces, which they had raised, and that he would "be pleased to return to his parliament;" the king answered, "That he was as ready and willing that "all armies should be disbanded, as any person "whatsoever; and conceived the best way to it, "would be a happy and speedy conclusion of the "present treaty; which, if both houses would con- "tribute as much as he would do to it, would be "suddenly effected. And as he desired nothing more "than to be with his two houses, so he would repair "thither as soon as he could possibly do it with his "honour and safety."

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The committee asked him, "if by a happy and "speedy conclusion of the present treaty, he in- "tended a conclusion upon the two first proposi- "tions, or a conclusion of the treaty in all the pro- "positions of both parts." The king, who well knew it would be very ungracious to deny the disbanding of the armies, till all the propositions were agreed, some whereof would require much time, answered, "That he intended such a conclusion of, or in the "treaty, as there might be a clear evidence to him- "self, and his subjects, of a future peace, and no "ground left for the continuance or growth of those "bloody dissensions; which, he doubted not, might "be obtained, if both houses would consent that the "treaty should proceed without farther interruption, "or limitation of days." They asked him, "What "he intended should be a clear evidence to him, and "his good subjects, of a future peace, and no ground "left for the continuance and growth of those bloody "dissensions?" His majesty told them, "If the "conclusion of the present treaty upon his first pro- "position, and the first proposition of both houses, "should be so full, and perfectly made, that the law "of the land might have a full, free, and uninter- "rupted course, for the defence and preservation of "the rights of his majesty, and of themselves, and "the rest of his subjects, there would be thence a "clear evidence to him, and all men, of a future "peace; and it would be such a conclusion as he in- "tended, never meaning that both armies should "remain undisbanded until the propositions on both "sides were fully concluded." To the other clause of their own proposition concerning the king's re- turn to the parliament, they said, "they had no

"instructions to treat upon it;" which the king much wondered at; and finding that they had no other authority to treat, or debate what was necessary to be done in order to disbanding, but only to press him to appoint a day for the actual disbanding; and that the forces in the north, where he had a great army, and they had none, might be first disbanded, he endeavoured to draw them to some propositions upon his return to the parliament; from whence expedients would naturally result, if they pursued that heartily, which would conclude a general peace. And it seemed very strange, that, after so many discourses of the king's absence from the houses, from whence they had taught the people to believe that most of the present evils flowed and proceeded, when a treaty was now entered upon, and that was a part of their own first proposition, that their committee should have no instructions or authority to treat upon it. After this[k], they received new instructions, "to declare to his majesty the de-
"sire of both houses, for his coming to his parlia-
"ment; which, they said, they had often expressed
"with full offers of security to his royal person,
"agreeable to their duty and allegiance, and they
"knew no cause why he might not repair thither
"with honour and safety." When the king found he could not engage them in that argument to make any particular overture, or invitation to him; and that the committee, who expressed willingness enough, had not in truth the least power to promote, or contribute to, an accommodation, lest they should make the people believe, that he had a desire to

[k] After this] In the end

BOOK VII. 1643.

continue the war, because he consented not to their proposition of disbanding the armies, he sent this message, by an express of his own, to the two houses, after he had first communicated it to their committee.

Oxford, April 12th, 1643.

His majesty's message to the two houses of April 12, 1643.

"To shew[1] to the whole world, how earnestly his "majesty longs for peace, and that no success shall "make him desire the continuance of his army to "any other end, or for any longer time, than that, "and until, things may be so settled, as that the "law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted "course, for the defence and preservation of the "rights of his majesty, both houses, and his good "subjects:

1. "As soon as his majesty is satisfied in his first "proposition, concerning his own revenue, maga- "zines, ships, and forts, in which he desires nothing, "but that the just, known, legal rights of his ma- "jesty, (devolved to him from his progenitors,) and "of the persons trusted by him, which have violently "been taken from both, be restored unto him, and "unto them; unless any just and legal exception "against any of the persons trusted by him (which "are yet unknown to his majesty) can be made ap- "pear to him:

2. "As soon as all the members of both houses "shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting "and voting in parliament, as they had upon the "first of January 1641; the same, of right, belong-

[1] To shew] *This message is in the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

" ing unto them by their birthrights, and the free " election of those that sent them; and having been " voted from them for adhering to his majesty in " these distractions; his majesty not intending that " this should extend either to the bishops, whose " votes have been taken away by bill, or to such, in " whose places, upon new writs, new elections have " been made: 1643.

3. " As soon as his majesty, and both houses, may " be secured from such tumultuous assemblies, as to " the great breach of the privileges, and the high " dishonour of parliaments, have formerly assembled " about both houses, and awed the members of the " same; and occasioned two several complaints from " the lords' house, and two several desires of that " house to the house of commons, to join in a decla- " ration against them; the complying with which " desire might have prevented all these miserable " distractions, which have ensued; which security, " his majesty conceives, can be only settled by ad- " journing the parliament to some other place, at " the least twenty miles from London, the choice of " which his majesty leaves to both houses:

" His majesty will most cheerfully and readily " consent, that both armies be immediately dis- " banded, and give a present meeting to both his " houses of parliament at the time and place, at and " to which the parliament shall be agreed to be ad- " journed: his majesty being most confident, that " the law will then recover due credit and estima- " tion; and that upon a free debate, in a full and " peaceable convention of parliament, such provisions " will be made against seditious preaching, and " printing against his majesty, and the established

BOOK VII. 1643.

" laws, which have been one of the chief causes of " the present distractions, and such care will be " taken concerning the legal and known rights of " his majesty, and the property and liberty of his " subjects, that whatsoever hath been published, or " done, in or by colour of any illegal declaration, or- " dinance, or order of one or both houses, or any " committee of either of them, and particularly the " power to raise arms without his majesty's consent, " will be in such manner recalled, disclaimed, and " provided against, that no seed will remain for the " like to spring out of for the future, to disturb the " peace of the kingdom, and to endanger the very " being of it. And in such a convention his majesty " is resolved, by his readiness to consent to whatso- " ever shall be proposed to him, by bill, for the real " good of his subjects, (and particularly for the better " discovery and speedier conviction of recusants; for " the education of the children of papists by pro- " testants in the protestant religion; for the preven- " tion of practices of papists against the state; and " the due execution of the laws, and true levying of " the penalties against them,) to make known to all " the world, how causeless those fears and jealousies " have been, which have been raised against him; " and by that so distracted this miserable kingdom. " And if this offer of his majesty be not consented " to, (in which he asks nothing for which there is " not apparent justice on his side, and in which he " defers many things highly concerning both himself " and people, till a full and peaceable convention of " parliament, which in justice he might now re- " quire,) his majesty is confident, that it will then " appear to all the world, not only who is most de-

"sirous of peace, and whose fault it is that both "armies are not now disbanded; but who have been "the true and first cause, that this peace was ever "interrupted, or those armies raised; and the be- "ginning or continuance of the war, and the de- "struction and desolation of this poor kingdom "(which is too likely to ensue) will not, by the most "interessed, passionate, or prejudicate person, be "imputed to his majesty."

To this message the two houses returned no answer to the king, but required the committee to return to Westminster (having been in Oxford with his majesty just twenty days) with such positive circumstances, that the house of commons enjoined their members to begin their journey the same day; which they obeyed; though it was so late, that they were forced to very inconvenient accommodations; and at their return, some of them were looked upon with great jealousy, as persons engaged by the king, and disinclined to the parliament; and this jealousy prevailed so far, that Mr. Martin opened a letter from the earl of Northumberland to his own lady,[m] presuming he should therein have discovered some combination; and this insolence was not disliked.

Many were of opinion, that the king was too severe in this treaty, and insisted too much upon what is his own by right and law; and that if he would have distributed offices and places liberally to particular men, which had been a condescension in policy to be submitted to, he might have been repossessed of his own power. And I have heard this alleged by many, who at that time were extremely violent

[m] his own lady,] his wife.

BOOK VII. 1643.

against all such artifices. The committee themselves (who at that time perfectly abhorred the proceedings of the parliament, or rather the power and superiority of the earl of Essex) seemed exceedingly desirous of such an accommodation, as all good men desired; and to believe, that if the king would have condescended so far, as to nominate the earl of Northumberland to be lord high admiral, that it would have made so great a division in the houses, that the treaty would have been continued, and his majesty been satisfied in all the other propositions. And the earl of Northumberland, to private friends, did make as full professions of future service to his majesty, and as ample recognitions of past errors and mistakes, as could reasonably be expected from a wary nature, before he could be sure what reception such professions and vows would find. But the king thought the power and interest of that committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the treaty, in which they seemed heartily to engage themselves. And he was resolved at least to have a probable assurance of the conclusion, before he would offer such concessions, as taking no effect might prove prejudicial to him: as particularly, [n] the nominating the earl of Northumberland to be admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an honourable peace) would have discontented all who had, how unreasonably soever, promised themselves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unseasonable easiness, (from which imputation it concerned the king, at that time, as much to purge

[n] particularly,] *Not in MS.*

himself, as of unmercifulness and revenge,) upon promises and hopes, to have readmitted a man to a charge and trust, he had so fatally betrayed and broken, against as [o] solemn promises and obligations, at the least, as [p] he could now enter into; and therefore it concerned the king to be sure of some advantage, in lieu of this visible hazard. BOOK VII. 1643.

I am one of those, who do believe that this obligation, at this time, laid upon the earl of Northumberland, with such other circumstances of kindness as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude and faithfulness in him, (for as, originally, he had, I am persuaded, no evil purposes against the king; so he had now sufficient disdain and indignation against those who got him to tread their ways, when he had not their ends,) and that it would have made some rent and division in the two houses, (which could not but have produced some benefit to the king,) and that it might probably have procured some few days' addition for the continuance of the treaty; the avowed ground of denying it being, because the king had not, in the least degree, consented to any one thing proposed by them: but, I confess, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a peace, or given the king any advantage, or benefit in the war: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touched before. For, besides that the stirring and active party, who carried on the war, were neither gracious to the earl of Northumberland, nor he to them, their favourite at sea being then the earl of Warwick, who had the possession of the fleet, and whom alone they

[o] as] more [p] at the least, as] than

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believed fit to be trusted with the navy; whoever calls to mind what was done in the houses, during the time of the treaty, and by their directions; that by their own authority they directed all the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, to be sequestered, and inhibited their tenants to pay any rent to them; that, under pretence of searching for arms, and taking away superstitious pictures, they caused the queen's chapel at Somerset-house (where she was to exercise her devotion, if they ever meant she should return again to London) to be most licentiously rifled; in which licence with impunity, her lodgings were plundered, and all her furniture and goods of value taken away and embezzled; that there was an order made in the house of commons, when they sent their messengers every day to Oxford without any formality or control, "that whatsoever person "should come from Oxford, or any part of the king's "army, to London, or the parts adjacent, without "the warrant of both houses of parliament, or of the "lord general the earl of Essex, he should be appre-"hended as a spy and intelligencer, and be pro-"ceeded against according to the rules and grounds "of war:" by virtue of which order of the house of commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a servant of the king's, for discharging the duty of his place, was executed; which shall be anon remembered;[q] all which, except the execution of that man, was transacted during the time of the treaty at Oxford.

Whosoever remembers the other proposition upon which the treaty was founded, and the bills then

[q] anon remembered;] remembered in its place;

presented to the king for his royal assent; that there was no unreasonable thing demanded in the nineteen propositions, which was not comprehended in these fourteen, and many additions made, that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of archbishops, bishops, deans, and chapters, and the whole frame of the government of the church; and another bill for the calling an assembly of divines, nominated by themselves, (which was a presumption, as contrary to the policy and government of the kingdom, as the most extravagant act they had done,) consisting[r] of persons the most deeply engaged in the most unwarrantable acts that had been done; and yet his majesty was required to promise to pass such other bills for settling of[s] church-government, as, upon consultation with that assembly of divines, should be resolved on by both houses of parliament: that all the other bills then presented to the king for his royal assent, and insisted on by their fourth proposition, though they had specious and popular titles, contained many clauses in them contrary to common equity, and the right of the subject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known justice of the kingdom; and therefore, besides the time and circumstances of the passing those acts, (when the nation was in blood,) not like to meet with his majesty's approbation; I say, whosoever remembers and considers all this, (to say nothing of the limitations by which their committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the resolutions of the two houses, and to receive the king's

[r] consisting] and consisting

[s] of] *Not in MS.*

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answer, which might as effectually have been done by any one single ordinary messenger,) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the king's consenting to make any one person among them high admiral of England, would have been a means to have restored the kingdom to a present peace, and the king to his just rights and authority.[t] And if all these considerations be not sufficient to render that supposition improbable, that, which follows next in order of story, will abundantly confute it.

The earl of Essex marches to besiege Reading April 15, being the last day of the treaty.

On Saturday the 15th of April, which was the very day on which the treaty expired at Oxford, being the last of the twenty days which were first assigned, and to which no importunity of the king's could procure an addition, the earl of Essex marched with his whole army from Windsor, and sat down before Reading; which preparation would not have been so exactly made, and the resolution so punctually taken, if they had meant any reasonable concessions from the king should have frustrated that vast charge, and determined all farther contentions. The earl had never before been in the head of so gallant an army, which consisted of about sixteen thousand foot, and above three thousand horse, in as good an equipage, and supplied with all things necessary for a siege, as could be expected from an enemy which knew no wants, and had the command of the Tower of London, and all other stores of the kingdom. In the town were above three thousand foot, and a regiment of horse consisting of near three hundred; the fortifications were very mean to endure a formed siege, being made only to secure a

[t] rights and authority.] authority and rights.

winter quarter, and never intended for a standing garrison. And it is very true, that it was resolved at a council of war at Oxford, "that before the end "of April," (before which time it was conceived the enemy would not adventure to take the field,) "sir "Arthur Aston should slight those works, and draw "off his garrison to the king;" and that which made it less able to bear a siege, than the weakness of their works, was their want of ammunition; for they had not forty barrels of powder; which could have held a brisk and a daring enemy but a short time.[u] And as this defect proceeded not from want of foresight, so it was not capable of being supplied, at least in that proportion as was worthy the name of a supply. For the king had no port to friend, by which he could bring ammunition to Oxford; neither had he been yet able to set up any manufacture for any considerable supply. So that what he brought up with him after the battle of Edge-hill, which was the remainder of the four hundred barrels brought by the ship called the Providence, before the setting up of his standard, had served for all his expeditions, being distributed into the several garrisons; and was still to furnish all his growing occasions; and that magazine now at Reading (which was no greater than is before mentioned) was yet double to what was in any other place, Oxford only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred barrels of powder, and in no one place match proportionable to that little powder: and this defect is wholly to be imputed to the lowness and straitness of the king's

[u] which could have held a brisk and a daring enemy but a short time.] which would not have held a brisk and daring enemy four hours.

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condition; for there was no want of industry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent and supply it.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the town looked upon the enemy with courage and contempt enough; and, to say the truth, both officers and soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a war could be expected; and they had no apprehension of want of victual, with which they were abundantly stored. The soldiers without were, for the most part, newly levied, and few of their officers acquainted with the way and order of assaulting towns; and this was the first siege that happened in England. Upon the first sitting down before it, after they had taken a full view of the ground, their general advised with his council of war, in what manner he should proceed, whether by assault or approach; in which there was great diversity of opinions. "The works were "weak; the number of the assailants sufficient; all "materials in readiness; they believed[x] the soldiers "in the town full of apprehensions, and a very con- "siderable party of the inhabitants disaffected to the "garrison, who in the time of a storm would be able "to beget a great distraction. They[y] might be able "to storm it in so many places at once, that the "number of the soldiers within would not be able to "defend all; and if they prevailed in any one, their "whole body of horse might enter, and be immedi- "ately masters of the town: if they prevailed this "way, their army would have that reputation, and "carry that terror with it, that no power of the "king's would hereafter be able to abide it; but

[x] they believed] *Not in MS.* [y] They] That they

"they might march over the kingdom, and subdue "every part of it: whereas if they delayed their "work, and proceeded by way of approach, those in "the town would recover heart, and, after they had "digested the present fears and apprehensions, con- "temn their danger; and their own soldiers, who "were yet fresh and vigorous, would every day "abate in courage, and their numbers in a few "weeks lessen as much by sickness and duty, as "they should probably do by an assault." On the other hand it was objected, "that the army consisted most "of new levies," (and in truth there were not, of all that gallant army that was at Edge-hill, among the foot, three thousand men,) "who would be hardly "brought to begin upon so desperate service; that "it was the only army the parliament had, upon "which all their hopes and welfare depended; and "if in the spring it should receive an eminent foil, "they would not recover their courage again all the "summer. That they were not only to look upon "the taking of Reading, but, pursuing that in a "reasonable way, to keep themselves in a posture "and condition to end the war by a battle with all "the king's forces; which would no doubt apply "themselves to their relief; and no place under "heaven could be so commodious for them to try "their fortune in, as that. Whereas if they should "hastily engage themselves upon an assault,[z] and "receive a repulse, and should be afterwards forced "to rise to fight with the king, they should never "make their men stand; and then their cause was "lost." As[a] for the danger of sickness among the

[z] assault,] onslatt,

[a] As] *Not in MS.*

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soldiers, who were not acquainted with hardship,[b] it was urged,[c] "that though it were earlier in the "year than the armies usually marched into the "field, yet they had much better accommodation "and provision than armies use to have; their horse "(to whom that time of the year is commonly most "hazardous,[d] through the want of forage) being "plentifully provided for with hay and oats by the "benefit of the river, and all supplies being sent for "the foot out of London."

And in truth it is hardly credible what vast quantities (besides the provisions made in a very regular way by the commissioners) of excellent victual ready dressed were every day sent in waggons and carts from London to the army, upon the voluntary contributions from private families, according to their affections to the good work in hand; the common people being persuaded, that the taking of Reading would destroy all the king's hopes of an army, and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon these arguments and debates, (in which all these reasons were considered on both sides,) the major part of the council inclined, and with that the general complied, to pursue the business by approach. It was reported, that the officers of horse in the council were all for a storm, and the foot officers for approaching. The chief care and oversight of the approaches was committed to Philip Skippon, a man often mentioned in the first part of this history, who had been an old officer, and of good experience in the Low Countries, and was now made sergeant-major-general of the army, by the absolute

[b] hardship,] hardness,

[c] it was urged,] *Omitted in MS.*

[d] hazardous,] formidable,

power of the two houses, and without the cheerful concurrence of the earl of Essex; though sir John Merrick, who had executed that place by his lordship's choice from the beginning, was preferred to be general of the ordnance. BOOK VII. 1643.

The approaches advanced very fast, the ground being in all places as fit for that work as could be, and the town lying so low, that they had easily raised [e] many batteries, from whence they shot their cannon into the town [f] at a near distance, but without any considerable execution; there being fewer lost by that service than will be believed, and but one man of note, lieutenant colonel D'Ews, a young man of notable courage and vivacity, who had his leg shot off by a cannon bullet, of which he speedily and very cheerfully died. From the town there were frequent sallies with good success; and very many soldiers, and some officers, of the enemy were killed; more, hurt; who were sent to hospitals near London; and those that were sent to London, as many cart-loads were, were brought in the night, and disposed with great secrecy, that the citizens might take no notice of it: the stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly set down, though pursued then with great industry, insomuch as some were punished for reporting that there were many [g] soldiers killed and hurt before Reading; and it was a mark of malignity to believe those reports; so unfit the people were to be trusted with all truths.

Within a week after the beginning of the siege,

[e] easily raised] *Not in MS.*
[f] town] *MS. adds:* and upon their line
[g] many] very many

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sir Arthur Aston the governor being in a court of guard near the line which was nearest to the enemy's approaches, a cannon shot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was covered with brick-tile, a piece whereof, the shot going through, hit the governor in the head, and made that impression upon him, that his senses shortly failed him, so that he was not only disabled afterwards from executing in his own person, but incompetent for counsel or direction; so that the chief command was devolved to colonel Richard Fielding, who was the eldest colonel of the garrison. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the king, for there was not in his army an officer of greater reputation, and of whom the enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at Oxford, a party from thence under the command of Mr. Wilmot, the lieutenant general of the horse, without any signal opposition, put in a supply of powder, and a regiment of five hundred foot into the town, and [h] received advertisement from thence of the governor's hurt, and that they must expect to be relieved within a week, beyond which time they should not be able to hold out. How ill the king was provided for such an expedition, will best appear by remembering how his forces were then scattered, and the present posture he was then in at Oxford.

The nimble and the successful marches of sir William Waller, whom we left triumphing in Wales, after his strange surprise of the lord Herbert's forces near Gloucester, caused the king to send prince

[h] and] but

Maurice with a strong party of horse and dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great success as speed, after his success at Hynam; and to make the shame of those officers the less, with the spirit of victory doubled upon him, he came before Hereford, a town very well affected, and reasonably well fortified, having a strong stone wall about it, and some cannon, and there being in it some soldiers of good reputation, and many gentlemen of honour and quality; and three or four hundred soldiers, besides the inhabitants well armed; yet, without the loss of one man on either side, to the admiration of all who then heard it, or have ever since heard of it, he persuaded them fairly to give up the town, and yield themselves prisoners upon quarter; which they did, and were presently by him sent for their better security to Bristol.

Sir William Waller takes Hereford:

From thence he marched to Worcester, where his conquests met some stop; for though the town was not so strong, nor the garrison so great, (I mean of soldiers; for the inhabitants were more,) as Hereford, nor one officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy war, the inhabitants had the courage to resolve not to admit any summons or messenger from him; and when his drum, against all signs made to him from the walls not to approach, did notwithstanding refuse to return without delivering his message, they shot at him, and killed him; and when sir William Waller himself, to revenge that affront, marched with his whole body towards them, (there being only an old gate, without bridge or work, before it, to hinder his entrance into the town, they entertained him so roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loss of some officers,

comes before Worcester: is repulsed.

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and about twenty common men; after which, his men having not been accustomed to such usage, he got over the Severn again, and, with quick night marches, so avoided prince Maurice, (who took no less pains to meet with him,) that with some few light skirmishes, in which he received small loss, he carried his party safe, and full of reputation, through Gloucester to the earl of Essex's army before Reading; himself being sent for to London, upon a design that must be hereafter mentioned.

The great want at Oxford (if any one particular might deserve that style, where all necessary things were wanted) was ammunition; and the only hope of supply was from the north; yet the passage from thence so dangerous, that a party little inferior in strength to an army was necessary to convey it; for though the earl of Newcastle, at that time, was master of the field in Yorkshire, yet the enemy was much superior in all the counties between that county and Oxford; and had planted many garrisons so near all the roads, that the most private messengers travelled with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that escaped. To clear these obstructions, and not without the design of guarding and waiting on the queen to Oxford, if her majesty were ready for that journey, at least to secure a necessary supply of powder, prince Rupert resolved in person to march towards the north, and about the beginning of April (the treaty being then at Oxford, and there being[i] hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at least that the earl of Essex would not have taken the field till May) his highness, with

Prince Rupert marches towards the north:

[i] there being] *Not in MS.*

a party of twelve hundred horse and dragoons, and six or seven hundred foot, marched towards Litchfield; which if he could reduce, and settle there a garrison for the king, lay most convenient for that northern communication; and would with it dissolve other little adjacent holds of the enemy's, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through Bromicham, a town in Warwickshire before mentioned, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected disloyalty to the king, as any place in England. It is before remembered, that the king in his march from Shrewsbury, notwithstanding the eminent malignity of that people, had shewed as eminent compassion to them; not giving way that they should suffer by the undistinguishing licence of the soldier, or by the severity of his own justice; which clemency of his found so unequal a return, that, the next day after his remove thence, the inhabitants of that place seized on his carriages, wherein were his own plate and furniture, and conveyed them to Warwick castle; and had from that time, with unusual industry and vigilance, apprehended all messengers who were employed, or suspected to be so, in the king's service; and though it was never made a garrison by direction of the parliament, being built in such a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being fortified, yet they had so great a desire to distinguish themselves from the king's good subjects, that they cast up little slight works at both ends of the town, and barricadoed the rest, and voluntarily engaged themselves not to admit any intercourse with the king's forces. 1643.

In this posture prince Rupert now found them,

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having in the town with them at that time a troop of horse, belonging to the garrison of Litchfield, which was grown to that strength, that it infested those parts exceedingly; and would in a short time have extended itself to a powerful jurisdiction. His highness hardly believing it possible, that, when they should discover his power, they would offer to make resistance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more important design, sent his quarter-masters thither to take up his lodging; and to assure them, "that if they behaved themselves peaceably, they should not suffer for what was past:" but they had not consciences good enough to believe him, and absolutely refused to let him quarter in the town; and from their little works, with mettle equal to their malice, they discharged their shot upon him; but they were quickly overpowered, and some parts of the town being fired, they were not able to contend with both enemies; and, distracted between both, suffered the assailant to enter without much loss; who took not that vengeance upon them they deserved, but made them expiate their transgressions with paying a less mulct than might have been expected from their wealth, if their wickedness had been less.

takes Bromicham,

In the entrance of this town, and in the too eager pursuit of that loose troop of horse that was in it, the earl of Denbigh (who from the beginning of the war, with unwearied pains, and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a volunteer in prince Rupert's troop, and been engaged with singular courage in all enterprises of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the head and body with swords and poll-axes; of which, within two or

three days, he died. Had it not been for this ill accident,[k] (and to remember the dismal inequality of this contention, in which always some earl, or person of great honour or fortune, fell, when, after the most signal victory over the other side, there was seldom lost a man of any known family, or of other reputation, than of passion for the cause in which he fell,) I should not have mentioned[l] an action of so little moment, as was this of Bromicham: which I shall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a clergyman, who was here killed at the entering of the town, after he had not only refused quarter, but provoked the soldier by the most odious revilings and reproaches of the person and honour of the king, that can be imagined, and renouncing all allegiance to him; in whose pockets were found several papers of memorials of his own obscene and scurrilous behaviour with several women, in such loose expressions, as modest ears cannot endure. This[m] man was the principal governor and incendiary of the rude people of that place against their sovereign. So full a qualification was a heightened measure of malice and disloyalty for this service, that it weighed down the infamy of any other lewd and vicious behaviour.

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From Bromicham, the prince, without longer stay than to remove two or three slight garrisons in the way, which made very little resistance, marched to Litchfield, and easily possessed himself of the town, which lay open to all comers; but the close (con-

[k] Had it not been for this ill accident,] And but for which accident,

[l] I should not have mentioned] I should not have wasted so much paper in mentioning

[m] This] And this

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taining[n] the cathedral church and all the clergymen's houses) was strongly fortified, and resolved against him. The wall, about which there was a broad and deep moat, was so thick and strong, that no battery the prince could raise would make any impression; the governor, one colonel Rouswell, very resolute; and the garrison of such men as were most transported with superstition to the cause in which they engaged[o], and in number[p] equal to the ground they were to keep, and[q] their provisions ample for a longer time than it was fit the prince should stay before it. So that it was believed, when his highness had in vain endeavoured to procure it by treaty, he would not have engaged before it; for his strength consisted, upon the matter, wholly in horse; his foot and dragoons being an inconsiderable force for such an attempt. But whether the difficulties were not throughly discerned and weighed at first, or whether the importance of the place was thought so great, that it was worth an equal hazard and adventure, he resolved not to move till he had tried the uttermost; and, to that purpose, drew what addition of force he could out of the country, to strengthen his handful of foot; and persuaded many officers and volunteers of the horse to alight, and bear their parts in the duty; with which they cheerfully and gallantly complied; and in less than ten days he had drawn the moat dry, and prepared two bridges for the graff. The besieged omitted nothing that could be performed by vigilant and bold men; and killed and wounded many of the besiegers; and disap-

[n] containing] which contained

[o] engaged] were engaged

[p] number] numbers

[q] and] *Not in MS.*

pointed and spoiled one mine they had prepared. In the end, early in the morning, the prince having prepared all things in readiness for the assault, he sprung another mine; which succeeded according to wish, and made a breach of twenty foot in the wall, in a place least suspected by those within; yet they defended it with all possible courage and resolution, and killed and hurt very many; some, officers of prime quality; whereof the lord Digby, colonel Gerrard, colonel Wagstaffe, and major Leg, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had entered the breach, they continued the dispute so fiercely within, (the narrowness of the breach, and the ascent, not suffering many to enter together, and no horse being able to get over,) that after they had killed colonel Usher, and some other good officers, and taken others prisoners, (for both colonel Wagstaffe and William Leg were in their hands,) they compelled the prince to consent to very honourable conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himself a gainer by the bargain. And so the garrison marched out with fair respect, and the prince's [r] *testimony of their* [s] *having made a courageous defence*; his highness being very glad of his conquest, though the purchase had shrewdly shaken his troops, and robbed him of many officers and soldiers he much valued. At this time, either the day before or the day after this action, prince Rupert received a positive order from the king, "to make all possible "haste, with all the strength he had, and all he "could draw together from those parts, to the relief "of Reading;" which was in the danger we but now

and Litchfield, and returns to the king.

[r] the prince's] a princely

[s] their] *Not in MS.*

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left it. Upon which his highness, committing the government of Litchfield to colonel Baggot, a son of a good and powerful family in that county, and appointing his troops to make what haste was possible after him, himself with a few servants came to Oxford to attend the king, whom he found gone towards Reading.

The importunity from that garrison for relief was so peremptory, and the concernment so great in their preservation, that the king found it would not bear the necessary delay of prince Rupert's returning with his forces; and therefore his majesty in person, with those horse and foot which he could speedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in Oxford, or in any other garrison, advanced towards Reading; hoping, and that was the utmost of his hope, that he might, with the assistance of the garrison, be able to force one quarter, and so draw out his men; and by the advantage of those rivers which divided the enemy, and by the passes, be able to retire to Oxford; for being joined, he could not have equalled one half of the enemy's army. When the king[t] drew near the town, the day being passed whereon they had been promised, or had promised themselves, relief, he was encountered by a party of the enemy, which defended their post, who[u] being quickly seconded by supplies of horse and foot from all their quarters, after a very sharp conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the king's party, commanded by the earl of Forth himself, (the general,) consisting of near one thousand musketeers, were[x] forced to retire to their body; which they did the

[t] the king] he [u] who] and [x] were] was

sooner, because those of the town made no semblance of endeavouring to join with them; which was what they principally relied upon. The reason of that was, the garrison, not seeing their relief coming, had [y] sent for a parley to the enemy, which was agreed to, with a truce for so many hours, upon which hostages were delivered; and a treaty begun, when the king came to relieve it. Upon the view of the enemy's strength and intrenchment, all were of opinion that the small forces of the king would not be able to raise the siege, or to join with those in the town; and in this melancholic conclusion his majesty retired for the present, resolving to make any other reasonable attempt the next day. In the mean time, some soldiers found means to escape out of the town, and colonel Fielding himself in the night came to the king, and told him the state they were in; and "that they were in treaty, and believed he might [z] "have very good conditions, and liberty to march "away with all their arms and baggage;" which was so welcome news, that the king bid him, prince Rupert being then present, "that, if he could pro-"cure such conditions, he should accept them:" for indeed the men and the arms were all that the king desired, the loss [a] of either of which was like to prove fatal to him. The king continued still at Nettlebeck, [b] a village seven or eight miles distant from Reading, to attend the success of the treaty; resolving, if it succeeded not, to try the utmost again for their redemption: but all men praying heartily for

[y] had] *Not in MS.*

[z] believed he might] he believed might

[a] the loss] and the loss

[b] Nettlebeck,] Nettlebedd,

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liberty to march off upon the treaty, the next day these articles were agreed on.

Reading surrendered upon articles, April 27.

1. "That the governor, commanders, and soldiers, "both horse and foot, might march out with flying "colours, arms, and four pieces of ordnance, ammu- "nition, bag and baggage, light match, bullet in "mouth, drums beating, and trumpets sounding.

2. "That they might have free passage to his "majesty's city of Oxford, without interruption of "any of the forces under the command of his excel- "lency the earl of Essex; provided the said gover- "nor, commanders, and soldiers, use no hostility un- "til they come to Oxford.

3. "That what persons were accidentally come to "the town, and shut up by the siege, might have "liberty to pass without interruption; such persons "only excepted, as had run away from the army "under the command of the earl of Essex.

4. "That they shall[c] have fifty carriages for bag- "gage, sick, and hurt men.

5. "That the inhabitants of the town of Reading "should not be prejudiced in their estates, or per- "sons, either by plundering or imprisonment; and "that they who would leave the town, might have "free leave, and passage, safely to go to what place "they would, with their goods, within the space of "six weeks after the surrender of the town.

6. "That the garrison should quit the town by "twelve of the clock the next morning; and that the "earl of Essex should provide a guard for the secu- "rity of the garrison soldiers, when they begun[d] to "march."

[c] shall] should. [d] begun] began

Upon these articles, signed by the earl of Essex, the town was delivered on the 27th day of April, (being within a fortnight after the siege begun,[e]) and the garrison marched to the king, who stayed for them, and with him to Oxford. But at their coming out of the town, and passing through the enemy's guards, the soldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully used, but many of them disarmed, and most of the waggons plundered, in the presence of the earl of Essex himself, and the chief officers; who seemed to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unruliness of the common men being so great. As[f] this breach of the articles was very notorious and inexcusable, so it was made the rise, foundation, and excuse for barbarous injustice of the same kind throughout the greatest part of the war; insomuch as the king's soldiers afterward, when it was their part to be precise in the observation of agreements, mutinously remembered the violation at Reading, and thereupon exercised the same licence; from thence, either side having somewhat to object to the other, the requisite honesty and justice of observing conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after violated. BOOK VII. 1643.

There had been, in the secret committee for the carrying on the war, forming those designs, and administering to the expenses thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they should not march directly with their army to besiege Oxford, where the king and the court was, rather than Reading; and if they had taken that resolution, as Mr. Hambden, and all they who desired still to

[e] begun,] began, [f] As] And as

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strike at the root, very earnestly insisted upon, without doubt they had put the king's affairs into great confusion. For, besides that Oxford [g] was not tolerably fortified, nor the garrison well provided for, the court, and multitude of nobility, and ladies, and gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of alarm [h] very ill. But others, who did not yet think their army well enough composed to resist all temptations, nor enough subdued in their inclinations to loyalty, and reverence towards the person of the king, had no mind it should besiege the very place where the king himself was; and the earl of Essex himself, who was yet the soul of the army, had no mind to that enterprise: and so the army marched, as hath been said, directly to Reading, with the success that is mentioned [i].

[g] Oxford] the town

[h] alarm] alarum

[i] directly to Reading, with the success that is mentioned] *The words* "with the success "that is mentioned" *are in the MS. B. interlined by lord Clarendon; a pen being drawn through the following paragraph:* Where sir Arthur Aston (a man of much greater reputation in war than he deserved) was governor, with three thousand good foot and a regiment of horse; and if that body of foot (which should have been drawn out within less than a month, which was as soon as it was imagined that the enemy would take the field) had been cut off, the king would have been deprived of the best part of his infantry; which was well enough known to the enemy, and was the principal cause of their engagement. The works were rather a trench cast up to secure a winter quarter, than any fortification to endure a siege, the purpose having been always to throw in all the works in the spring, and to leave the town open, his majesty having not men enough to supply garrisons, and retaining still the old unhappy opinion, that another action in the field would determine the contest. However, the earl of Essex, thinking it to be stronger than it was, or willing that others should think it so, quartered his army round about it, to keep it from supply, and disposed all things for a formal siege. The several transactions within and without the town during the siege; the hurt of the governor, whether real or pre-

Though, at the instant, the parliament was highly pleased with the getting the town, and the king as well contented, when he saw his entire garrison safely joined to the rest of his army, (for it cannot be denied the joy was universal through the king's quarters, upon the assurance, that they had recovered near[j] four thousand good men, whom they had given for lost,) yet, according to the vicissitudes in war, when the accounts are cast up, either party grew quickly dissatisfied with its success. The king was no sooner returned to Oxford, but, upon conference between the officers and soldiers, there grew a whisper, "that there had not been fair carriage, and "that Reading had been betrayed;" and from thence made a noise through Oxford; and the very next day, and at the same time, colonel Fielding, upon whom the discourses reflected, came to the king to desire, "that an account might be taken of the "whole business at a council of war for his vindica-"tion;" and the common soldiers, in a disorderly manner, "to require justice against him for betray-"ing and delivering up the town to the rebels;" which they avowed with so much confidence, with the mention of some particulars, "as the[k] having "frequent intercourse with the earl of Essex, and

tended; the treaty about the surrender, and the king's endeavour to relieve it during that treaty, and after it was begun, and the garrison's refusing to draw out because of the treaty; the surrender of the town thereupon, and the secure march of the garrison to Oxford; the disorders and jealousies which happened there about that surrender; the earl of Essex his march towards Oxford, and drawing up his whole army in sight thereof, and the consternation there, and his making his headquarters at Thame, are all fitter subjects for the history of that time than for this narration, [*namely, the author's life.*]

[j] near] full

[k] the] *Not in MS.*

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" hindering and forbidding the soldiers to issue out " of the town to join with the king, when he came " to relieve them, although [1] their officers had drawn " them up to that purpose, and were ready to lead " them;" and the like; with some rash and passionate words disrespectful to his majesty; so that he gave present order for his commitment, and trial at a court of war; the king himself being marvellously incensed against him, for that clause in the third article, which gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the town, and shut up by the siege, to pass without interruption, wherein there was an exception of such persons who had run away from the earl of Essex's army, and by virtue of that exception some soldiers [m] were taken after the rendering of the town, and were executed. And though the colonel excused himself, " as being no more con- " cerned to answer for the articles, than every mem- " ber of the council of war, by which they were " agreed;" yet it was alleged, " that the council of " war had been induced to consent to those articles " upon the colonel's averment, that the king had " seen them, and approved of them." Whereas his majesty had never seen any articles in writing, but only consented, that they should march away with their arms and baggage, if the enemy agreed to those conditions. I have not known the king more afflicted than he was with that clause, which he called no less " than giving up those poor men, who, out " of conscience of their rebellion, had betaken them- " selves to his protection, to be massacred and mur- " dered by the rebels, whom they had deserted;"

Colonel Fielding ordered to be tried for the surrender.

[1] although] albeit

[m] soldiers] soldiers of that kind

and, for the vindication of himself therein, he immediately published a proclamation, in which he took notice of that clause; and declared to all the world, BOOK VII. 1643.

"That he was not privy to, or, in the least degree, consenting to that exception, but held the "same most prejudicial to his service, and derogatory to[n] his honour; and that he would always "choose to run any hazard or danger, the violence "or treason of his enemies could threaten, or bring "upon him, rather than he would withdraw or deny "his protection to any, who, being convinced in "their conscience of their disloyalty, should return "to their duty, and betake themselves to his service. "And as he had referred to a court of war the full "examination of all the particular proceedings, in "the delivery of that town, that[o] justice might be "done accordingly; so he did declare, that he would "always proceed with all severity against such, as "should, by the like dishonourable conditions, expose his subjects, and bereave them of his protection that had returned to their obedience to "him."

At the trial, it was objected against the colonel, "that the town might have been longer defended, "there being want of no necessary provision, and as "much powder, at the giving it up, as there was "when the enemy came first before it; for, besides "the first supply, sixteen barrels were put in during the skirmish, when the king came to relieve "it: that several colonels pressed very earnestly to "sally, when the king's forces were engaged, and "that they were expressly hindered and forbidden

[n] to] from [o] that] that so

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"by him: that he frequently gave his pass to a "woman to go out of the town, who went into the "earl of Essex's army, and returned again: that he "persuaded the council of war to consent to the ar- "ticles, by protesting that the king had well ap- "proved them, and reproached those officers who "were of another opinion;" with some other particulars of licence and passion, which reflected more upon his discretion, than his honesty, or conduct.

He justified himself "to have done nothing to- "wards the delivery of the place, but upon full con- "sideration, advice, and approbation of the council "of war: that he was in his own conscience and "judgment satisfied, that the substance of the arti- "cles were advantageous for his majesty's service; "and though it was true, by that last supply of am- "munition, their store was near as much as when "the siege begun; yet it was in all but thirty-two "barrels, which would have lasted but few hours, if "the enemy, who had approached within little more "than pistol-shot of some parts of their works, "should attack them in that manner as they had "reason to expect; and if they had held out longer, "when it had appeared that the king was not strong "enough to relieve them, they should not have been "admitted to such conditions: and therefore, that "he believed a hazard of so great a concernment "was not to be run, when he well knew his majes- "ty's former resolution of slighting the garrison; "and that it would not be now done above a fort- "night sooner than was intended: that he had no "knowledge of his majesty's approach, till the forces "were engaged, when a truce was concluded, and "their hostages in the enemy's hands; and there-

" fore, that he conceived it against the law of arms " to make any attempt from the town; and before " they could sufficiently deliberate it in council, his " majesty's forces retired: that the woman, to whom " he gave a pass, was one he often employed as a " spy, with very good effect; and he did believe, the " advantage he received by it was greater than she " could carry to the enemy by any information she " could give: that he did persuade the council of " war to consent to the conditions, because he be- " lieved them very profitable to his majesty, and he " had averred only his majesty's approbation of the " general substance of the articles, never applied it " to the clause of the third article, which he much " desired to have altered, but could not obtain the " consent of the enemy. If he had been intemperate, " or passionate to any, who were of another opinion, " or had used any passionate expressions in the de- " bate, it proceeded only from his zeal to the ser- " vice, and his apprehension of the loss of so many " good men, upon whom he well knew the king " much depended: that he might have committed " many indiscretions, for which he desired pardon, " but had not failed in point of fidelity: that, by the " unfortunate hurt of the governor, the command " was devolved upon him by his right of seniority, " not any ambitious design of his own: that he had, " from time to time, acquainted sir Arthur Aston " with the state and condition they were in; and " though his indisposition of health was such, that " he would not give positive orders, he seemed to " approve of all that was done; and though, for the " former reason, he refused to sign the articles, yet " they were read to him, and he expressed no dislike

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" of them." The truth of it is, sir Arthur Aston was believed by many, not to be in so incompetent a condition to command as he pretended; and that albeit his head was so much swoln, that he might not in person venture upon any execution, yet [p] his understanding, or senses, were not much distempered, or discomposed; and that he only positively waved meddling, out of dislike of the condition they were in. And it is true, that, when he came to Oxford, he could speak as reasonably of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after.

Notwithstanding all the defence the colonel could make for himself, and that there was not indeed any colour of proof, that he had acted any thing treacherously, he was, upon an article " for [q] not obeying " orders," (for in this agitation he had received some such, which he had not precisely observed,) " sen- " tenced to lose his head;" which judgment, after long and great intercession, was, in the end, remitted by the king; but his regiment disposed to another; and he never restored to that command. And though he had been always before of an unblemished reputation for honesty and courage, and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the troubles, and been hurt in the service, and he appeared afterwards as a volunteer, with the same courage, in the most perilous actions, and obtained a principal command in another of the king's armies, he never recovered the misfortune and blemish of this imputation. And yet I must profess for my part, being no stranger to what was then alleged and proved on either party, I do believe him to have

[p] yet] yet that [q] for] of

been free from any base compliance with the enemy, or any cowardly declension of what was reasonable[r] to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and so difficult a thing it is to play an after-game of reputation, in that nice and jealous profession. 1643.

The inconveniences and mischiefs, that resulted to the king from this accident, were greater than were at that time taken notice of; for from this, the factions in court, army, and city (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the king) were dated, and took their original; great animosities grew between the officers of the army; some being thought to have been too passionate and solicitous in the prosecution of the colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of common soldiers in demanding justice on[s] their officer; for from such a kind of clamour it begun.[t] Others again were as much condemned for a palpable avowed protection of him, thereby to shew their power, that a person they favoured should not suffer; and of both these, some were more violent than they should have been; which several inclinations equally possessed the court, some believing that he was really guilty of treachery, though not so clearly proved; and therefore that, being within the mercy of the law, upon another article, no mercy ought to be shewed to him; others as really supposing him innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, severely to take the forfeiture, upon such a point, as few officers of the army did not know themselves guilty in: these supposing the former too full of rigour and uncharitableness; and they again accusing the other of too much

[r] reasonable] reasonably
[s] justice on] *Omitted in MS.*
[t] begun.] began.

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lenity and indulgence; whilst many gentlemen of honour and quality, whose fortunes were embarked with the king, grew extremely jealous, that the parliament had corrupted some of the king's officers with rewards, and that others had power to protect them from punishment and discovery; and the soldiers again as much incensed, that their lives must be sacrificed, upon casual and accidental trespasses, to the animosity and jealousy of those who run not the same dangers with them.

But these indispositions and distempers were the effects of the exigents of that time, (I wish the humours had been impaired when the times mended,) and very many, who saw the king's condition very low in an instant, and believed the rebels to be most flourishing, would look no farther for a reason, than the loss of Reading; though they had all still, but the town; which was never intended to be kept. It is most certain, that the king himself was so far from believing the condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the earl of Essex's advance towards Oxford, within four or five days after the loss of Reading, he once resolved, and that by the advice of the chief officers of his army, to march away towards the north, to join with the earl of Newcastle. And if the earl of Essex had, at that time, but made any show of moving with his whole body that way, I do verily persuade myself, Oxford itself, and all the other garrisons of those parts, had been quitted to them; but those fears were quickly composed, by an assurance of the earl's stay at Reading; and that he was not in a posture for a present march, and that his numbers had been shrewdly lessened by the siege: whereupon the king

resolved to abide him, and give him battle about Oxford, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his foot upon the down, about a mile from Abingdon; which was the head quarter for his horse [u].

[u] for his horse.] *The history is thus continued in MS. C.:* The earl of Essex had as little joy of his conquests: the city murmured, and thought they were betrayed: they expected the reducing of Reading, by taking or destroying the garrison that was in it, which they were assured comprised above one half of the king's army; so that being defeated, the war would be at an end: whereas by giving them leave to march to the king with their arms, they had enabled him to fight a battle with them, which he could no otherwise have done: all that vast expense of money about the siege had been to no purpose, and had only recovered a town, which would have been left to them within one fortnight without any loss of men or money. They were now very angry that he had not marched to Oxford, when he first sat down before Reading, which if he had taken, (as with the same expense he might have done,) Reading must have yielded without a blow: and indeed there had been consultation at Windsor, before the expedition began, whether they should besiege Oxford or Reading first; and the earl himself inclined to Oxford, but was advised to the other, for the conveniency of being supplied with provisions from London, and out of an apprehension that if the whole army should go before Oxford, and leave so strong a garrison at Reading behind them, they might not only be much infested from thence in their siege, but more frequent alarums would come from that place to the houses and the city than they would well bear: which without doubt was as great an oversight as any they committed; for if they had at that time, with that full army they were then masters of, marched to Oxford, prince Rupert being, as is before remembered, at Litchfield, they had found the place every way worse provided for a siege than Reading, the fortifications being very slight and unfinished, and no public magazines of victual in store; so that, though it may be, the king himself might with his horse have escaped, before they could have environed the town, the place, having a very thin garrison of soldiers, and a great company of lords and ladies, and persons of quality, not easy to be governed and commanded, could not probably have long held out, and then Reading must have been at their devotion; and in the mean time, they had horse enough belonging to the city, and their garrison at Windsor, to secure them from those excursions. But that which troubled the

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When the season of the year grew ripe for taking the field, the earl of Essex found that his too early march had nothing advanced his affairs; the soldiers having performed so strict duty, and lodging upon the ground, in frost and rain, before Reading, had produced great sickness and diseases in his army, which had wasted abundance of his men; so that he wanted rather another winter quarter to recover and recruit his men, than an opportunity to engage them in action; which he found would be too often administered. He sent daily importunities to the parliament for supplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furnished with to satisfy him; new divisions and animosities arose there, to perplex their counsels. Their triumph upon the taking of Reading, which they had celebrated with loud festivity, and made the city believe, that all those benefits would attend it, which they knew would be most grateful to them, appeared now without any fruit; the king had all his forces and army entire, and had only lost a town that he never meant to keep, and which they knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the field, when theirs was destitute of health, and all those accommodations, which must enable them to march: and their general every day reiterated his complaints, and reproached them with the unskilful orders they had sent him, by which, against all the

earl of Essex more than these discourses, was the ill condition his army was in; they had contracted in this short siege so great a sickness, and such an indisposition to action, and so many were killed and run away, that he was in no posture to pursue his advantage; so that after all these mountains of promises, &c. *as in page 52 line 6.*

advice and arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity. BOOK VII.

The disrespectful and absurd[x] breaking off the[y] treaty with the king was urged by their commissioners; who thought themselves disobliged by it, and published the king's gracious disposition, and the temper of the council in Oxford, to be different from what the parliament desired it should be believed. They complained of jealousies which had been entertained of their integrity; and the earl of Northumberland, having discovered, as is said before,[z] that Harry Martin had opened a letter, which he had writ from Oxford to his lady,[a] took him aside, after a conference in the painted chamber between the two houses, and questioned him upon it; and the other giving him some rude answers in justification of what he had done[b], the earl cudgelled him in that presence; upon which many swords were drawn, to the great reproach and scandal of the parliament. 1643.

These and the like instances of distraction and confusion brought the reputation of that party low; and made it looked upon, as like to destroy itself without an enemy; whilst the king's party, at that distance, seemed to be more united, and to have recovered their spirits, of which they received frequent evidence by the news of some of their quarters being beat up, and many of their men lost[c] by the unexpected incursions of the king's horse;

[x] The disrespectful and absurd] The absurd and uncivil

[y] the] of the

[z] as is said before,] *Not in MS.*

[a] to his lady,] to his wife, to know what was included in it,

[b] of what he had done] of it

[c] lost] being lost

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whereof some parties, by night marches, and unusual lanes, went often near London, and took many prisoners, who thought themselves secure, in their houses, and in journeys they made; who[d] were put to ransom themselves with good sums of money: so that, after all those mountains of promises, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the city more importuned for money, and the parliament visibly more necessitated for want of it, than they had been before; and instead of dispersing the king's army, and bringing the king back to his parliament, a sudden direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a line about the cities[e] of London and Westminster, and to fortify it; lest the king's forces might break in upon them; which made the people suspect the state of their affairs to be worse than in truth it was; yet[f] so far were they from any thoughts of peace and accommodation, that the house of commons raged more furiously than ever; and every day engaged themselves in conclusions more monstrous than they had yet entered upon. For the supply of the charge of the war, they proposed settling and imposing an excise upon such commodities as might best bear it; which was a burden the people of England had hitherto reproached other nations with, as a mark of slavery, and never[g] feared by themselves; and for the exercise of the sovereign power, they resolved it fit to make a new great seal, to be always resident with the houses. But the lords were not yet arrived at

[d] who] and who
[e] cities] city
[f] yet] and
[g] never] as never

that presumption, but plainly refused to concur with them in either.

Whilst both armies lay quiet, the one about Reading, the other about Abingdon, or Oxford, without attempting one upon the other, or any action, save some small enterprises by parties, (in which the king got advantage; as particularly [h] the young earl of Northampton fortunately encountered a party of horse and foot from Northampton, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt upon Banbury: but he having [i] routed their horse, killed above two hundred of their foot, and took as many more prisoners, most whereof were shrewdly hurt, the young earl that day sacrificing to the memory of his father,) the king received from the earl of Newcastle, by a strong party of horse, a good and ample supply of ammunition; the want whereof all men looked upon with great horror. As soon as this was arrived, and the king had [k] heard that his armies, both in the north and west, begun [l] to flourish, and thought himself well provided to encounter the earl of Essex, if he desired it; his majesty resolved once more to try, whether the two houses would incline to a reasonable peace; and to that purpose sent a message to them by an express servant of his own, in these words:

"Since [m] his majesty's message of the 12th of April (in which he conceived he had made such an overture for the immediate disbanding of all armies, and composure of those miserable and

The king sends a message to the two houses, May 20.

[h] particularly] *Not in MS.*
[i] but he having] and having
[k] had] *Not in MS.*
[l] begun] began

[m*] Since &c.] *This message is in the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

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" present distractions, by a full and free convention " of parliament, that a perfect and settled peace " would have ensued) hath in all this time, above a " full month, procured no answer from both houses, " his majesty might well believe himself absolved, " both before God and man, from the least possible " charge of not having used his utmost endeavours " for peace: yet, when he considers, that the scene " of all this calamity is in the bowels of his own " kingdom; that all the blood, which is spilt, is of " his own subjects; and that what victory soever it " shall please God to give him, must be over those " who ought not to have lifted up their hands " against him; when he considers, that these des- " perate civil dissensions may encourage and invite " a foreign enemy, to make a prey of the whole " nation; that Ireland is in present danger to be " totally lost; that the heavy judgments of God, " plague, pestilence, and famine, will be the inevi- " table attendants of this unnatural contention; " and that in a short time there will be so general " a habit of uncharitableness and cruelty contracted " through the whole kingdom, that even peace it- " self will not restore his people to their old temper " and security; his majesty cannot but again call " for an answer to that his gracious message, which " gives so fair a rise to end these unnatural distrac- " tions. And his majesty doth this with the more " earnestness, because he doubts not the condition " of his armies in several parts; the strength of " horse, foot, artillery, his plenty of ammunition, " (when some men lately might conceive he want- " ed,) is so well known and understood, that it " must be confessed, nothing but the tenderness

"and love to his people, and those Christian im- "pressions, which always live, and he hopes alway "shall dwell, in his heart, could move him once "more to hazard a refusal. And he requires them, "as they will answer to God, to himself, and all "the world, that they will no longer suffer their "fellow-subjects to welter in each other's blood; "that they would remember by whose authority, "and to what end, they met in that council, and "send such an answer to his majesty, as may open "a door to let in a firm peace, and security to the "whole kingdom. If his majesty shall again be "disappointed of his intentions therein, the blood, "rapine, and destruction, which may follow in Eng- "land and Ireland, will be cast upon the account "of those who are deaf to the motive of peace and "accommodation."

This message was received by the house of peers (to whom it was directed) with all demonstration of respect and duty, and the messenger very civilly entreated by them: but when they communicated it to [n] the house of commons, and desired their concurrence in preparing an address to the king suitable to his gracious invitation, that house was so far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate order (which was executed accordingly) for the apprehension and commitment of the gentleman who brought the message; and declared, "that "they would proceed against him at a council of "war," upon the order formerly mentioned, made by them when the treaty was at Oxford, "that any "person coming from Oxford without their gene-

The house of commons commit the messenger.

[n] to] with

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" ral's pass, or one from the houses, should be pu-
" nished as a spy;" to which order as the peers never consented, so the king had never, till this commitment, notice of it; and themselves, after the making it, had sent several messengers to the king, without any formality of pass or trumpet.

The lords did what they could, publicly and privately, to dissuade this course; but they could not prevail: the house of commons finding that the very imagination that a peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying on the war, and made not only those, who were yet free, not easy to be drawn in; but many, who were engaged, remiss, and willing to retire; therefore [o] they resolved to proceed with that vigour and resolution, that no reasonable man should believe it possible for the king to gain a peace but by subduing them, which seemed at least equally impossible. To this purpose, instead of returning any answer to the king's message, within three days after the receiving it they impeached the queen of high treason, " for as-
" sisting the king her husband with arms, and am-
" munition, in the prosecution of the war against
" them;" an attempt as unheard of among all the acts of their predecessors, and as surprising [p] as any thing they had yet ventured upon: their clergy sounded their trumpets louder to war than ever, if it was possible; and they resolved, that assembly of divines, to which they had at the treaty urged the king's consent, should now meet by an ordinance of their own, with an addition of some members of either house to that number.

The commons impeach the queen of high treason.

[o] therefore] and therefore

[p] surprising] unimagined

There had been, some months before, a design of prince Rupert upon the city of Bristol, by correspondence with some of the chief inhabitants of the city, who were weary of the tyranny of the parliament; but it had been so unskilfully or unhappily carried, that, when the prince was near the town, with such a party of horse and foot, as he made choice of, it was discovered, and many principal citizens apprehended by Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the lord Say, and then governor of that city for the parliament; at this time, special direction and order was sent thither, "that he should, with all severity, and expedition, proceed against those conspirators," (as they called them;) and thereupon, by a sentence and judgment of a council of war, alderman Yeomans, who had been high sheriff of the city, and of great reputation in it, and George Bouchier, another citizen of principal account, were (against all interposition his majesty could make) both hanged; and all other imaginable[q] acts done, to let all the world see that there was no way to peace but by the sword.

A design discovered at London, wherein Mr. Waller, Mr. Tomkins, and others, were concerned.

There fell out now an accident at London, which gave great advantage to them in the fierce prosecution of the war, a discovery of a plot, which produced a public thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful animosity against the king, and a covenant, and union among themselves, and throughout the city a prejudice to all moderate men, who promoted an accommodation, and a brand upon all overtures of peace[r] as stratagems upon the city and the parliament. Of this plot, there being never

[q] imaginable] imaginary

[r] of peace] of accommodation and peace

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such a formed relation made by those who made great use of it, that men can collect what the design was, or that it was laid with any probable circumstances, by which a success might be expected, I shall briefly and faithfully set down all that I know, have heard, or can reasonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averred by others who I believe did not think so, "that I "knew as much of it as most men."

There was of the house of commons, one Mr. Waller, a gentleman of a very good fortune and estate, and of admirable parts, and faculties of wit and eloquence, and of an intimate conversation and familiarity with those who had that reputation. He had, from the beginning of the parliament, been looked upon by all men, as a person of very entire affections to the king's service, and to the established government of church and state; and, by having no manner of relation to the court, had the more credit and interest to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew so great between the king and the two houses, that very many of the members withdrew from those councils, he, among the rest, with equal dislike absented himself; but at the time the standard was set up, having intimacy and friendship with some persons now of nearness about the king, with the king's approbation, he returned again to London; where he spoke[s], upon all occasions, with great sharpness and freedom; which (now there were so few there that used it, and there was no danger of being overvoted) was not restrained; and therefore used as an

[s] spoke] spake

argument against those, who were gone upon pretence "that they were not suffered to declare their "opinion freely in the house; which could not be "believed, when all men knew, what liberty Mr. "Waller took, and spoke[t] every day with impu-"nity, against the sense and proceedings of the "house." This won him a great reputation with all people who wished well to the king; and he was looked upon as the boldest champion the crown had in both houses; so that such lords, and commons, as[u] really desired to prevent the ruin of the kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a man resolute in their ends, and best able to promote them. And it may be they believed his reputation at court so good, that he would be no ill evidence there, of other men's zeal and affection; and so all men spoke[x] their minds freely to him, both of the general distemper, and of the passions and ambition of particular persons: all men knowing him to be of too good a fortune, and too wary a nature, to engage himself in designs of danger or hazard.

Mr. Waller had a brother in law, one Mr. Tomkins, who had married his sister, and was clerk of the queen's council, of very good fame for honesty and ability. This gentleman had good interest and reputation in the city, and conversed much with those who disliked the proceedings of the parliament, and wished to live under the same government they were born; and from those citizens received information of the temper of the people, upon accidents, in the public affairs. And Mr.

[t] spoke] spake [u] as] who [x] spoke] spake

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Waller and he, with that confidence that uses to be between brethren of the same good affections, frequently imparted their observations and opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both houses inclined to peace; and the other making the same judgment upon the correspondence he had, and intelligence he received from the most substantial men of London; and both of them again communicated what one received from the other, to the company they[y] used to converse with; Mr. Waller imparting the wishes and power of the well affected party in the city, to the lords and gentlemen whom he knew to be of the same mind; and Mr. Tomkins acquainting those he durst trust of the city, that such and such lords and gentlemen, who were of special note, were weary of the distractions, and would heartily and confidently contribute to such an honourable and honest peace, as all men knew would be most acceptable to the king. And from hence they came reasonably to a conclusion, that if some means were found out to raise a confidence in those who wished well, that they should not be oppressed by the extravagant power of the desperate party; but that if[z] they would so far assist one another, as to declare their opinions to be the same, they should be able to prevent or suppress those tumults, which seemed to countenance the distractions; and the houses would be induced to terms of moderation.

In this time the lord Conway, being returned from Ireland, incensed against the Scots, and discontented with the parliament here, finding Mr.

[y] they] he

[z] if] *Omitted in MS.*

Waller in good esteem with the earl of Northumberland, and of great friendship with the earl of Portland, he entered into the same familiarity; and, being more of a soldier, in the discourses administered questions, and considerations, necessary to be understood by men that either meant to use force, or to resist it; and wished "that they who "had interest and acquaintance in the city would "endeavour by a mutual correspondence to inform "themselves of the distinct affections of their neigh-"bours, that, upon any exigent, men might foresee "whom they might trust;" and these discourses being again derived by Mr. Waller to Mr. Tomkins, he, upon occasion, and conference with his companions, insisted on the same arguments; and they again conversing with their friends and acquaintance, (for of all this business, there were not above three who ever spoke together,) agreed, "that some "well affected persons, in every parish and ward "about London, should make a list of all the inha-"bitants; and thereupon to make a reasonable "guess of their several affections," (which at that time was no hard thing for observing men to do,) and thence a computation of the strength and power of that party, which was notoriously violent against any accommodation.

I am persuaded the utmost project in this design was (I speak not what particular men might intend, or wish upon their own fancies) to beget such a combination among the party well affected, that they would refuse to conform to those ordinances of the twentieth part, and other taxes for the support of the war; and thereby, or by joint petitioning for peace, and discountenancing the other who peti-

BOOK VII. 1643. tioned against it, to prevail with the parliament to incline to a determination of the war. And it may be, some men might think of making advantage of any casual commotion, or preventing any mischief by it; and thereupon that inquiry where the magazines lay, and discourse of wearing some distinguishing tokens, had been rather casually[a] mentioned, than seriously[b] proposed. For it is certain, very many who were conscious to themselves of loyal purposes to the king, and of hearty dislike of the parliament's proceedings, and observed the violent, revengeful, ruinating[c] prosecution of all men, by those of the engaged party, were not without sad apprehensions that, upon some jealousy, and quarrel picked, even a general massacre might be attempted of all the king's friends; and thereupon, in several discourses, might touch upon such expedients, as might in those seasons be most beneficial to their safety. But that there was ever any formed design, either of letting in the king's army into London, which was impossible[d] to be contrived, or of raising an army there, and surprising the parliament, or any one person of it, or of using any violence in or upon the city, I could never yet see cause to believe; and if there had, they would have published such a relation of it, after Mr. Waller had confessed to them all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himself, as might have constituted some reasonable understanding of it; and not have[e] contented themselves with making conclusions from questions that had been asked, and answers made,

[a] casually] *Not in MS.*
[b] seriously] *Not in MS.*
[c] ruinating] and ruinating
[d] impossible] most impossible
[e] have] *Not in MS.*

by persons unknown, and forcing expressions used by one, to relate to actions of another, between whom there had been never the least acquaintance or correspondence; and joining what was said at London to somewhat done at Oxford, at another time, and to another purpose: for, before I finish this discourse, it will be neeessary to speak of another action, which, how distinct soever from this that is related, was woven together to make one plot.

From the king's coming to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who were prosecuted, or jealously looked upon in London, had resorted to the king, and hoping, if the winter produced not a peace, that the summer would carry the king before that city with an army, they had entertained some discourse "of raising, upon their own stocks of money "and credit, some regiments of foot and horse, and "joining with some gentlemen of Kent, who were "likewise inclined to such an undertaking." Among these was sir Nicholas Crisp, a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active spirited man, who had been lately prosecuted with great severity by the house of commons; and had thereupon fled from London, for appearing too great a stickler in a petition for peace in the city. This gentleman industriously preserved a correspondence still there, by which he gave the king often very useful intelligence, and assured him "of a very considerable "party, which would appear there for him, when-"ever his own power should be so near, as to give "them any countenance." In the end, whether invited by his correspondents there, or trusting his own sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much,

BOOK VII. 1643.

and concluding that all, who were equally honest, would be equally bold, he desired his majesty, "to "grant a commission to such persons, whom he "would nominate, of the city of London, under the "great seal of England, in the nature of a commis- "sion of array, by virtue whereof, when the season "should come, his party there would appear in dis- "cipline and order; and that this was desired by "those, who best knew what countenance and au- "thority was requisite; and being trusted to them "would not be executed at all, or else at such a "time as his majesty should receive ample fruit by "it; provided it were done with secrecy, equal to "the hazard they should run who were employed "in it."

The king had this exception to it,[f] "the impro- "bability that it could do good, and that the fail- "ing might do hurt to the undertakers.[g]" But[h] the promoter was a very popular man in the city, where he had been a commander of the trained bands, till the ordinance of the militia removed him; which rather improved, than lessened, his credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a notable advantage to the king: however, they desired it who were there, and would not appear without it; and therefore the king consented to it; referring the nomination of all persons in the commission[i] to him; who, he verily believed, had proceeded by the instruction and advice of those that[k]

[f] this exception to it,] no exception to it but

[g] and that the failing might do hurt to the undertakers.] *Thus in MS.*: and that was the less because the failing could do no hurt but to the undertakers.

[h] But] *Not in MS.*

[i] in the commission] to be named in the commission

[k] that] who

were nearest the concernment; and for the secrecy of it, the king referred the preparing and despatch of the commission to sir Nicholas Crisp himself, who should acquaint no more with it than he found requisite; so, without the privity or advice of any counsellor, or minister of state then most trusted by his majesty[l], he procured such a commission as he desired (being no other than the commission of array in English) to be signed by the king, and sealed with the great seal. BOOK VII. 1643.

This being done, and remaining still in his custody, the lady Aubigney, by a pass, and with the consent of the houses, came to Oxford to transact the affairs of her own fortune with the king upon the death of her husband, who was killed at Edgehill; and she having in few days despatched her business there, and being ready to return, sir Nicholas Crisp came to the king, and besought him, "to desire that lady" (who had a pass, and so could promise herself safety in her journey) "to carry a "small box" (in which that commission should be) "with her, and to keep it in her own custody, until "a gentleman should call to her ladyship for it, by "such a token: that token," he said, "he could "send to one of the persons trusted, who should "keep it by him till the opportunity came, in which "it might be executed." The king accordingly wished the lady Aubigney to carry it with great care and secrecy; telling her, "it much concerned "his own[m] service;" and to deliver it in such manner, and upon such assurance, as is before men-

[l] then most trusted by his majesty] *Not in MS.*

[m] his own] his majesty's

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tioned: which she did, and, within few days after her return to London, delivered it to a person who was appointed to call for it. How this commission was discovered, I could never learn: for though Mr. Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that lady, and was believed by her to be a gentleman of most entire affections to the king's service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her ladyship herself, not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any body else.

But about this time, a servant of Mr. Tomkins, who had often cursorily overheard his master and Mr. Waller discourse of the argument we are now upon, placed himself behind a hanging, at a time they were together; and there, whilst either of them discoursed the language and opinion of the company they kept, overheard enough to make him believe his information, and discovery, would make him welcome to those whom he thought concerned; and so went to Mr. Pym, and acquainted him with all he had heard, or probably imagined. The time when Mr. Pym was made acquainted with it is not known; but the circumstances of the publishing it were such, as filled all men with apprehensions. It was on Wednesday the thirty-first of May, their solemn fast-day, when, being all at their sermon, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, according to their custom, a letter or message is brought privately to Mr. Pym; who thereupon, with some of the most active members, rise from their seats; and, after a little whispering together, remove out of the church: this could not but exceedingly affect those who stayed behind; immediately they sent guards to all the

prisons, as Lambeth-house, Ely-house, and such places, where their malignants were in custody, with directions "to search the prisoners;" and some other places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the sermons were ended, the houses met; and were only then [n] told, "that letters were "intercepted going to the king and the court at "Oxford, that expressed some notable conspiracy in "hand, to deliver up the parliament and the city "into the hands of the cavaliers; and that the time "for the execution of it drew very near." Hereupon a committee was appointed "to examine all "persons they thought fit; and to apprehend some "nominated at that time." And the same night, this committee apprehended Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins; and, the next day, such others as they suspected. [o]

Mr. Waller was so confounded with fear and apprehension, that he confessed whatever he had said, heard, thought, or seen; all that he knew of himself, and all that he suspected of others; without concealing any person of what degree or quality soever, or any discourse that he had ever, upon any occasion, entertained with them: what such and such ladies of great honour, to whom, upon the credit of his great wit, [p] and very good reputation, he had been admitted, had spoke to him in their chambers of the proceedings in [q] the houses; and how they had encouraged him to oppose them; what correspondence and intercourse they had with some ministers of state at Oxford; and how they derived all intelli-

[n] then] *Not in MS.*
[o] suspected.] thought fit.
[p] wit,] parts,
[q] in] of

BOOK VII. 1643.

gence thither. He informed them, "that the earl of "Portland and the lord Conway had been particular "in all the agitations which had been with the citi- "zens; and had given frequent advice and directions "how they should demean themselves; and that the "earl of Northumberland had expressed very good "wishes to any attempt, that might give a stop to the "violent actions and proceedings of the houses, and "produce a good understanding with the king."

When the committee were thus furnished, they took the examinations of Mr. Tomkins, and such other as they thought necessary, and having at the same time, by some other means, discovered (or concealed it till this time) that commission which is before discoursed of, and gotten the very original into their hands, they kneaded both into one plot and conspiracy; and, acquainting the houses with so much as they thought yet seasonable to publish, they declared, (without naming any lords, or other persons, to be interessed in the design, save those only who were imprisoned; among whom the lady Aubigney was one: and without communicating any of the examinations, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the conspirators were brought to trial,) "that the original of this conspiracy was "from the late London petition for peace," which was spoken of about Christmas last in the book precedent; "and that, under pretence of peace and "moderation, a party was to be formed, which "should be able to suppress all opponents, and to "awe the parliament: that, to this purpose, some of "those who were the principal movers and fomenters "of that petition, did continue, in the nature of a

" committee, still to carry on the design: that they " held intelligence in both armies, court, and parliament; took a general survey of the numbers and " affections of the several inhabitants throughout the " wards and parishes of the city, and places adjacent; " and distinguished all under the titles of men affected, or averse to the king; or indifferent, and " neutral persons, carried only by the success and " power of the prevailers: that they were well instructed in the number and inclinations of the " trained bands of London; the places where the magazines were kept; where the commanders for the " parliament dwelt; had thought of places for rendezvous, and retreat, upon any occasion, and of " colours, and marks of distinction between the different parties.

" That Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins were the " principal persons employed, and trusted to give " advertisement to, and correspond with, the king's " ministers at Oxford; and receive advertisements " and commands from thence, for the completing " the work; that they two held constant intelligence " and intercourse with the lord Falkland, then principal secretary to the king; and that from him " they received the signification of the king's pleasure; and that those directions, counsels, and encouragements had been principally sent by those " messengers which had been employed by his majesty to the parliament, under the pretence of " peace; and especially by Mr. Alexander[r] Hamb- " den; who came with the last message, and was a

[r] Alexander] *Not in MS.*

BOOK VII. 1643.

"cousin-german to Mr. Waller. That the lady Au-
"bigney, who had been lately at Oxford, had brought
"thence a commission to them from the king, by
"force of arms to destroy, kill, and slay the forces,
"raised by the parliament and their adherents, as
"traitors and rebels; and that they had lately sent
"a message to Oxford by one Hassel, a servant of
"the king's, to acquaint the lord Falkland, that the
"design was come to a[s] good perfection; unto which,
"answer was returned, that they should hasten it
"with all speed:

"That the particulars of the design appeared to
"be: 1. To seize into their custody the king's chil-
"dren. 2. To seize several members of both houses,
"the lord mayor, and committee of the militia,
"under pretence of bringing them to a legal trial.
"3. To seize upon the outworks, forts, Tower of
"London, magazines, gates, and other places of im-
"portance in the city. 4. To let in the king's forces
"to surprise the city, and to destroy all those who
"should oppose them by authority of the parlia-
"ment. 5. By force of arms to resist all payments
"imposed by authority of parliament, raised for the
"support of the armies employed for their just de-
"fence, &c. to suspend, if not alter, the whole go-
"vernment of the city, and, with assistance of the
"king's force, to awe and master the parliament."

When both houses were awakened, and startled with this report, the first thing agreed on was, "a "day of thanksgiving to God for this wonderful de-"livery;" which shut out any future doubts, and

[s] a] *Not in MS.*

disquisitions, whether there had been any such delivery; and, consequently, whether their plot was in truth, or had been so framed. Then it was said, "that as the design was the most desperate, so the "carriage was the most subtle, and among persons "of reputation, and not suspected; and that there "was reason to suspect, many members of both "houses were privy to it; and therefore there ought "to be all possible care taken to make the discovery "perfect, and to unite themselves for the public de-"fence: that if any part were left undiscovered, it "might prove fatal to the commonwealth." This finding a full consent, it was propounded, "that a "protestation might be drawn up, by which every "member of the two houses might purge himself "from any guilt of, or privity in, that conspiracy; "and likewise oblige himself to resist and oppose "any such combination." They who were under the character of moderate men, and usually advanced all motions of peace and accommodation, durst not oppose the expedient, lest they should be concluded guilty; most of them having had familiarity with *Mr. Waller, and, no doubt, upon sundry occasions,* spoken with that freedom to him, as might very well incur a severe interpretation, if, upon this occasion, what they had said should be scanned. And so, before the rising, there was framed by the house of commons, a vow and covenant to be taken by the members of both houses, and afterwards by the city, and their army; for their jealousy was now spread over all their own quarters; which covenant, for the rareness of it both in title and style, I think necessary here to insert in the very terms; which were these:

A vow and covenant agreed to be taken by the members of both houses upon discovery of that design.

BOOK VII. 1643.

A sacred vow,[t] *and covenant, taken by the lords and commons assembled in parliament, upon the discovery of the late horrid and treacherous design, for the destruction of this parliament and the kingdom: the 6th of June* 1643.[u]

"Whereas there hath been, and now is, in this "kingdom, a popish and traitorous plot for the sub- "version of the true protestant reformed religion, "and the liberty of the subject; and, in pursuance "thereof, a popish army hath been raised, and is "now on foot in divers parts of this kingdom; and "whereas there hath been a treacherous and horrid "design, lately discovered by the great blessing and "especial providence of God, of divers persons, to "join themselves with the armies raised by the king, "and to destroy the forces raised by the lords and "commons in parliament, to surprise the cities of "London and Westminster, with the suburbs; by "arms to force the parliament; and finding by con- "stant experience, that many ways of force, and "treachery, are continually attempted, to bring to "utter ruin and destruction the parliament and "kingdom; and that which is dearest, the true pro- "testant religion: and that, for the preventing and "withstanding the same, it is fit, that all, who are "true hearted, and lovers of their country, should "bind themselves each to other in a sacred vow and "covenant:

"I *A. B.* in humility, and reverence of the Di- "vine Majesty, declare my hearty[x] sorrow for my

[t] *A sacred vow, &c.*] *In the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

[u] *the 6th of June* 1643.] *Not in MS.*

[x] hearty] *Not in MS.*

" own sins, and the sins of this nation, which have
" deserved the calamities and judgments that now
" lie upon it; and my true intention is, by God's
" grace, to endeavour the amendment of my own
" ways: and I do farther, in the presence of Al-
" mighty God, declare, vow, and covenant, that, in
" order to the security and preservation of the true
" reformed protestant religion, and liberty of the
" subject, I will not consent to the laying down of
" arms, so long as the papists, now in open war
" against the parliament, shall by force of arms be pro-
" tected from the justice thereof: and that I do abhor
" and detest the said wicked and treacherous design,
" lately discovered: and that I never gave, nor will
" give, my assent to the execution thereof, but will,
" according to my power, and vocation, oppose and
" resist the same, and all other of the like nature.
" And in case any other like design shall hereafter
" come to my knowledge, I will make such timely
" discovery, as I shall conceive may best conduce to
" the preventing thereof. And whereas I do in my
" conscience believe, that the forces, raised by the
" two houses of parliament, are raised and continued
" for their just defence, and for the defence of the
" true protestant religion, and liberty of the subject,
" against the forces raised by the king; that I will,
" according to my power, and vocation, assist the
" forces raised and continued, by both houses of par-
" liament, against the forces raised by the king
" without their consent: and will likewise assist all
" other persons that shall take this oath, in what
" they shall do in pursuance thereof; and will not
" directly, or indirectly, adhere unto, nor shall will-
" ingly assist the forces raised by the king, without

BOOK VII. 1643.

"the consent of both houses of parliament[y]. And "this vow, and covenant, I make in the presence of "Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a "true intention to perform the same, as I shall an- "swer at the great day, when the secrets of all "hearts shall be disclosed."

Though many were much startled at this covenant, and took time to consider of it, there being in the preamble, and positive part, much which very few believed, and in the promissory part a more direct denouncing war against the king, than had been in plain terms before avowed by them, and an absolute protestation against peace, till the king were at their mercy; yet the fear of being concluded guilty of the plot, made them swallow all the rest; and the example of one prevailing with many, there was not a member of either house that took it not: and being thus fettered and entangled themselves, they sent their committee into the city, to acquaint them with their "happy discovery, and how miraculously "God had preserved them, and to engage them in "the same sacred vow, and covenant;" which was readily submitted to; and, by the industry of their clergy, sooner than can be imagined, taken throughout that people. Then it was, with equal diligence and solemnity, transmitted to their[z] army, that their fears of inconvenience from thence might be likewise purged; and thence it grew the mark of distinction, to know their friends and enemies by; and whosoever refused to take that covenant, needed no other charge to be concluded, and prosecuted, as the highest malignant.

The same vow and covenant taken throughout the city and army.

[y] of parliament] *Not in MS.* [z] their] the

Being this way secure from any future clamours for peace, they proceeded to try Mr. Tomkins; Mr. Chaloner, a citizen of good wealth and credit, and most intimate with Tomkins; Mr. Hambden, who brought the last message from the king; one Hassel, a messenger of the king's, who passed often between London and Oxford, and sometimes carried letters and messages to the lord Falkland; and some citizens, whose names were in the commission sent from Oxford; by a council of war; by whom Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner were condemned to be hanged; and were both, with all circumstances of severity and cruelty, executed: the one on a gibbet, by his own house in Holborn; where he had long lived with singular estimation; and the other, by his house in Cornhill, near the Old Exchange. Hassel the messenger saved them farther trouble, and died in prison the night before his trial: and there being no evidence against Mr. Hambden, but what Mr. Waller himself gave, they gave no judgment against him, but kept him long after in prison, till he died: neither proceeded they capitally against those citizens whose names were in the commission, it not appearing that their names were used with their consent and privity; though the brand of being malignants served the turn for their undoing; for all their estates were seized, as theirs were who had been executed. 1643. The trial and execution of Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner.

There is[a] nothing clearer than that the commission sent from Oxford by the lady Aubigney, had not any relation to the discourses passed between Mr. Waller, Tomkins, and those citizens; or that

[a] There is] And there is

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they, who knew of one, had not any privity with the other * which if they had had, and intended such an insurrection, as was alleged, Mr. Waller, and Mr. Tomkins, or some one of those lords who were supposed to combine with them, would have been in the commission. Or if the king's ministers had been engaged in the consultation, and hoped to have raised a party which should suddenly seize upon the city and the parliament, they would never have thought a commission granted to some gentlemen at Oxford, (for the major part of the commissioners were there,) and a few [b] private citizens, would have served for that work. I am very confident, and I have very much reason for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at Oxford, concerning the matter of the commission, than I have before set forth; nor of the other, than that Mr. Tomkins sometimes writ to the lord Falkland, (for Mr. Waller, out of the cautiousness of his own nature, never writ word,) and by messengers signified to him, "that the "number of those who desired peace, and abhorred "the proceedings of the houses, was very considera-"ble; and that they resolved, by refusing to contri-"bute to the war, and to submit to their ordinances, "to declare and manifest themselves in that manner, "that the violent party in the city should not have "credit enough to hinder any accommodation." And the lord Falkland always returned answer, "that "they should expedite those expedients, as soon as "might be, for that delays made the war more diffi-"cult to be restrained." And if I could find evidence, or reason, to induce me to believe, that there was any

[b] few] few unknown

farther design in the thing itself, or that the king gave farther countenance to it, I should not at all conceal it. No man can imagine [c], that if the king could have entertained any probable hope of reducing London, which was the fomenter, supporter, and indeed the life of the war; or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reasonably propose to dissolve, scatter, and disperse those who, under the name of a parliament, had kindled a war against him, but he would have given his utmost assistance and countenance thereunto, either by public force, or private contrivance. BOOK VII. 1643.

There were very great endeavours used, to have proceeded with equal severity against the earl of Portland, and the lord Conway, (for the accusation of the earl of Northumberland, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the violent party was heartily incensed against him, as a man weary of them, yet his reputation was still very great,) who were both close prisoners; and, to that purpose, their lordships and Mr. Waller were confronted before the committee; where they as peremptorily denying, as he charging them, and there being no other witness but he against them, the prosecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long restraint they procured enlargement upon bail. Mr. Waller himself, (though confessedly the most guilty; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his affliction, he had raised as many enemies as he had formerly friends, and almost the same,) after he had, with incredible dissimulation, acted such a remorse of conscience, that [d] his trial was put off out of Christian compassion, till

[c] can imagine] imagining

[d] that] as

BOOK VII. 1643.

he might recover his understanding, (and that was not, till the heat and fury of the prosecutors was reasonably abated with the sacrifices they had made,) and, by drawing visitants to himself, of the most powerful ministers of all factions, had, by his liberality, and penitence,[e] his receiving vulgar and vile sayings from them with humility and reverence, as clearer convictions and informations than in his life he had ever had; and distributing great sums to them for their prayers and ghostly counsel; so satisfied them, that they satisfied others; was brought, at his suit, to the house of commons' bar; where (being a man in truth very powerful in language; and who, by what he spoke, and in the manner of speaking it, exceedingly captivated the good-will and benevolence of his hearers; which is the highest part of an orator) with such flattery, as was most exactly calculated to that meridian, with such a submission, as their pride[f] took delight in, and such dejection of mind, and spirit, as was like to cozen the major part, and be thought serious; he laid before them "their "own danger and concernment, if they should suffer "one of their own body, how unworthy and mon-"strous soever, to be tried by the soldiers, who might "thereby grow to that power hereafter, that they "would both try those they would not be willing "should be tried, and for things, which they would "account no crimes; the inconvenience and insup-"portable mischief whereof all wise commonwealths "had foreseen, and prevented, by exempting their "own members from all judgments but their own:" he prevailed, not to be tried by a council of war;

[e] penitence;] *MS. adds:* his *preces*, and his *lacrymæ*

[f] pride] vulgar pride

and thereby preserved his dear-bought life; so that, in truth, he does as much owe the keeping his head to that oration, as Catiline did the loss of his to those of Tully: and by having done ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that respect to his parts, which always carries some compassion to the person, that he got leave [g] to compound for his transgression, and them [h] to accept of ten thousand pounds (which their affairs wanted) for his liberty; whereupon [i] he had leave to recollect himself in another country (for his liberty was to be in banishment) how miserable he had made himself, in obtaining that leave [k] to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater evidence of the inestimable value of his parts, than that he lived, after this, in the good affection and esteem of many, the pity of most, and the reproach and scorn of few, or [l] none.

These high proceedings at London, and in the houses, were not seconded with any notable success abroad; but it appeared plainly, by the slow coming in of monies, and more slow coming in of men, that the hearts of the people were generally more devoted to peace, than to the continuance of those distractions; and the earl of Essex, by the great decay and sickness of his army, was not, in near six weeks, [m]

[g] leave] them

[h] them] *Not in MS.*

[i] whereupon] and so

[k] in obtaining that leave] to have leave

[l] few, or] *Not in MS.*

[m] the earl of Essex, by the great decay and sickness of his army, was not, in near six weeks,] *Thus originally in MS.:* the earl of Essex found that he paid dear for the time he had gotten in the spring, that little lying in the field during the siege at Reading having so much weakened his army, and his soldiers having contracted by it so many diseases and such a general sickness, that very many of them died; and with all the supplies of money and recruits of men he could get, he was not, in near six weeks,

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able to remove from Reading; by which many men concluded, which could not be reasonably foreseen, that if Reading had held out many days longer, he would have been compelled to raise his siege; and that was the reason the earl gave for granting so good conditions: for if he could have stayed longer before it, he well knew, they must have yielded on worse terms; neither feared he the king would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the city of London, he marched towards Oxford; but, in truth, rather to secure Buckinghamshire, which was now infested by the king's horse, than to disquiet that place. And, to that purpose, he fixed his head quarter at Thame, ten miles from Oxford, and upon the very edge of the other county[n].

The earl of Essex marches to Thame.

[n] *The history is thus continued in MS. C.*:] At the same time when the earl of Essex began his march from Reading, colonel *Urry*, a Scotchman, who had served in that army from the beginning with great reputation, (as he was an excellent commander of horse,) till the difference that is before spoken of between the English and Scotch officers; after which he laid down his commission; though, out of respect to the earl of Essex, he stayed some time after with him as a volunteer; and now came to the king to Oxford, having before given notice to the earl of Brainford that he meant to do so. He came no sooner thither, than, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he proposed to prince Rupert to wait on him, to visit the enemy's quarters, and being well acquainted with their manner of lying and keeping their guards, undertook to be his guide to a quarter where they were least expected: and the prince willingly consenting to the proposition, drew out a strong party of one thousand horse and dragoons, which he commanded himself, and marched with colonel Urry to a town four or five miles beyond the head quarter, where were a regiment of horse and a regiment of dragoons, and about daybreak fell upon them; and with little resistance, and no loss of his own men, he killed and took the whole party, except some few, who hid themselves in holes, or escaped by dark and untrodden paths. From thence, on his way back, according to purpose, he fell upon another village, where some horse and a regiment of foot were quartered; where he had the same success, and killed and took and dispersed them all. So he having

In the beginning of the war, the army in Scotland having been lately disbanded, many officers of that

fortunately performed all he hoped, his highness hastened his retreat as fast as he could to Oxford; having appointed a regiment of foot to attend him at a pass in the way for his security. But the alarum had passed through all the enemy's quarters; so that before the prince could reach the pass where his foot expected him, he found the enemy's whole army was drawn out, and a strong party of their horse, almost equal to his own in number, so hard pressed him, that, being then to enter a lane, they would disorder his rear before he could join with his foot, which were a mile before. He had very little time to deliberate, being even at the entrance into the lane. If he could have hoped to have retired in safety, he had no reason to venture to fight with a fresh party, excellently armed and in number equal, his own being harassed and tired with near twenty miles' march, and laden with spoil and prisoners, scarce a soldier without a led horse: but the necessity obliged him to stay; and after a short consideration of the manner of doing it, directing as small a convoy as was possible to guard the prisoners, and to hasten with all the unnecessary baggage and led horses, he resolved to keep the ground he had in the plain field, and after as short a pause, to charge the party that advanced, lest the body might come up to them. And they came on amain, leaving it only in his election, by meeting them, to have the reputation of charging them, or, by standing still, to be charged by them. Hereupon they were quickly engaged in a sharp encounter, the best, fiercest, and longest maintained that hath been by the horse during the war: for the party of the parliament consisted not of the bare regiments and troops which usually marched together, but of prime gentlemen and officers of all their regiments, horse and foot, who, being met at the head quarter upon the alarum, and conceiving it easy to get between prince Rupert and Oxford, and not having their own charges ready to move, joined themselves as volunteers to those who were ready, till their own regiments should come up; and so the first ranks of horse consisting of such men, the conflict was maintained some time with equal confidence. In the end, many falling and being hurt on both sides, the prince prevailed, the rebels being totally routed, and pursued, till the gross of the army was discovered, and then his highness, with the new prisoners he had taken, retired orderly to the pass where his foot and former purchase expected him; and thence sending colonel Urry to acquaint the king with the success, who knighted the messenger for his good service, returned, with near two hundred prisoners, and seven cornets of horse, and four ensigns of foot, to Oxford. On the king's part in this action were lost, besides

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nation, who had served in Germany and in France, betook themselves to the service of the parliament; whereof divers[o] were men of good conduct and courage; though there were more as bad as the cause in which they engaged. Of the former sort colonel Urry was a man of name and reputation, and an excellent officer of horse, and had commanded those horse at Edge-hill under Balfour; which had preserved their army there; and finding himself afterwards not so well regarded, as, he thought, he had deserved, as it was no easy thing to value that people at the rate they did set upon themselves; and being without any other affection for their service, than their pay inclined him to, he resolved to quit them, and to go to the king; in order to which, he had kept some correspondence with the earl of Brainford, the king's general; under whose command he had formerly served in Germany. Whilst the earl of Essex remained at Thame, and his army quartered thereabout, Urry came to Oxford, in the equipage that became a colonel of horse who had received good pay; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciously received by the king, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to prince Rupert, acquainted him where the parliament horse lay, and how loose they were in their quarters; and, to give a testimony of his fide-

few common men, no officers of note, but some hurt: on the enemy's side, many of the best officers, more than in any battle they fought, and amongst them (which made the news of the rest less inquired after by the one, and less lamented by the other) colonel Hambden, who was shot into the shoulder with a brace of pistol bullets, of which wound, with very sharp pain, he died within ten days, to as great a consternation of all that party, as if the whole army had been defeated and cut off.

[o] divers] many

lity to the king, he desired to march a volunteer with a good party, to make an attempt upon the enemy; and the prince assigning a strong party for the service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the common road, till they came to a town; where a regiment of the parliament's horse was quartered; which they beat up, and killed or took most of the officers and soldiers; and then fell upon those other quarters, by which they had passed before, with the like success; so he returned to Oxford with many prisoners, and with notable damage to the enemy.

As soon[p] as he returned, he made another proposition to the prince for the attacking the quarters near Thame; through which he had passed, when he came to Oxford, and so was well acquainted with the posture in which they were; and assured the prince, "that, if he went about it time enough, be- "fore there should be any alteration in their quarters, "which he believed the general would quickly make, "the enterprise would be worthy of it." The prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolved to conduct the next adventure himself, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the ports of Oxford in the evening upon a Saturday, and marched beyond all the quarters as far as Wickham, and fell in there at the farther end of the town towards London, from whence no enemy was expected, and so no guards were kept there.[r] A regiment of horse, and of foot, were lodged there; which were cut off, or taken prisoners; and all the horses

[q] Prince Rupert beats up some of his quarters with good success.

[p] As soon] And as soon

[q] The prince] And the prince

[r] no enemy was expected, and so no guards were kept there.] they expected no enemy, and so kept no guards there.

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and a good booty brought away. From thence[s] they marched backward to another quarter, within less than two miles of the general's own quarters; where his men lodged with the same security they had done at Wickham, not expecting any enemy that way; and so met with the same fate the others had done; and were all killed, or made prisoners. Thus[t] having performed at least as much as they had proposed to do, and being laden with prisoners and booty, and the sun being now rising, the prince thought it time to retire to Oxford, and gave[u] orders to march accordingly with all convenient speed, till they should come[x] to a bridge which was yet two miles from them, where he had appointed a guard to attend, to favour their retreat.

But the alarm had been brought to the earl of Essex from all the quarters, who quickly gathered those troops together, which were nearest; and directed those to follow the prince, and to entertain him in skirmishes, till himself should come up with the foot, and some other troops; which he made all possible haste to do. So that when the prince had almost passed a fair plain, or field, called Chalgrave field, from whence he was to enter a lane, which continued to the bridge; the enemy's horse were discovered marching after them with speed; and as they might easily overtake them in the lane, so they must as easily have put them into great disorder. Therefore the prince resolved to expect, and stand them upon the open field, though his horse were all tired,

[s] From thence] And from thence

[t] Thus] And

[u] gave] so gave

[x] should come] came

and the sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the clock in the morning in June.[y] He then[z] directed, "that the guard of the prisoners should make "what haste they could to the bridge, but that all "the rest should return;" for some were entered the lane: and so he placed himself and his troops, as he thought fit, in that field to receive the enemy; which made more haste, and with less order than they should have done; and being more in number than the prince, and consisting of many of the principal officers, who, having been present with the earl of Essex when the alarm came, stayed not for their own troops, but joined with those who were ready in the pursuit, as they thought, of a flying enemy, or such as would easily be arrested in their hasty retreat; and, having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themselves for the damage they had received that night, and morning, before the general could come up to have a share in the victory, though his troops were even in view. But the prince entertained them so roughly, that though they[a] charged very bravely and obstinately, being[b] many of their best officers, of which the chiefest[c] falling, the rest shewed less vigour, in[d] a short time they broke, and fled, and were pursued till they came near the earl of Essex's body; which being at near a mile's distance, and making a stand to receive their flying troops, and to be informed of their disaster, the prince with his troops hastened his retreat, and passed the lane, and came safe to the bridge before any of the

[y] June.] May.
[z] He then] And so he
[a] they] their fronts
[b] being] consisting of
[c] the chiefest] many of the chiefest
[d] in] and in

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earl's forces came up; who found it then to no purpose to go farther, there being a good guard of foot, which had likewise lined both sides of the hedges a good way in the lane. Thus[e] the prince, about noon, or shortly after, entered Oxford, with near two hundred prisoners, seven cornets of horse, and four ensigns of foot, with most of the men he carried from thence; few only having been killed[f] in the action, whereof some were of name.

The prince[g] presented colonel Urry to the king with a great testimony of the courage he had shewed in the action, as well as of his counsel and conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been performed by no man, who had not been very conversant in the quarters[h] of those he destroyed. Upon which, the king honoured him with knighthood, and a commission to raise a regiment of horse;[i] and every body magnified and extolled him, as they usually do a man who hath good luck, and the more, because he was a Scotchman, and professed a repentance for having been in rebellion against the king. He[k] deserves this testimony, and vindication to be given him, against the calumnies which were raised against him, "as if he had broken his trust, and deserted "the service of the parliament, and betrayed them "to the king," which is not true. He had owned and published his discontents long before, and demanded redress and justice in some particulars from

[e] Thus] And so

[f] few only having been killed] some few excepted, who had been killed

[g] The prince] And the prince

[h] in the quarters] with the nature and humour

[i] and a commission to raise a regiment of horse;] and a regiment of horse as soon as it could be raised;

[k] He] And he

the parliament, in which the earl of Essex thought he had reason; and wished he might receive satisfaction. But the man was in his nature proud and imperious; had[l] raised many enemies; was a man of licence,[m] and committed many disorders of that kind. He was however a good officer[n] in the field; regular and vigilant in marching, and in his quarters; which the parliament thought other men would attain to, who had fewer vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had desired; upon which he declared, "he would serve them no "longer;" and delivered up his commission to the earl of Essex; and being then pressed to promise, that he would not serve the king, he positively refused to give any such engagement; and after he had stayed in London about a month, and had received encouragement from some friends in Oxford, he came thither in the manner set down before.

The prince's success in this last march was very seasonable, and raised the spirits at Oxford very much, and for some time allayed the jealousies and animosities, which too often broke out in several factions to the disquiet of the king. It was visibly great in the number of the prisoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many officers were known, who were left dead upon the field, as colonel Gunter, who was looked upon as the best officer of horse they had, and a man of known malice to the government of the church; which had drawn some severe censure upon him before the

[l] had] and had

[m] was a man of licence,] and was besides of licence,

[n] He was however a good officer] and had little other virtue than being a very good officer

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troubles, and for which he had still meditated revenge. One[o] of the prisoners taken[p] in the action said, "that he was confident Mr. Hambden was "hurt, for he saw him ride off the field before the "action was done, which he never used to do, with[q] "his head hanging down, and resting his hands "upon the neck of his horse;" by which he concluded he was hurt. The news[r] the next day made the victory much more important than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loss the enemy had sustained in their quarters, by which three or four regiments were utterly broken and lost: the names of many officers, of the best account, were known, who were either killed upon the place, or so hurt as there remained little hope of their recovery.[s]

[o] One] And one

[p] taken] who had been taken

[q] with] and with

[r] The news] But the news

[s] recovery.] *This part of the History which is taken from MS. B. is thus continued in that manuscript:* Of which Mr. Hambden was one; who would not stay that morning till his own regiment came up, but put himself a volunteer in the head of those troops who were upon their march, and was the principal cause of their precipitation, contrary to his natural temper, which, though full of courage, was usually very wary; but now, carried on by his fate, he would by no means expect the general's coming up; and he was of that universal authority, that no officer paused in obeying him. And so in the first charge he received a pistol shot in his shoulder, which broke the bone, and put him to great torture: and after he had endured it about three weeks, or less time, he died, to the most universal grief of the parliament that they could have received from any accident: and it equally increased the joy for the success at Oxford; and very reasonably; for the loss of a man, which would have been thought a full recompence for a considerable defeat, could not but be looked upon as a glorious crown of a victory.

Mr. Hambden hath been mentioned before as a very extraordinary person, and being now brought to his grave, before he had finished any part of the great model he had framed, and there [not] being hereafter an occasion to enlarge upon him,

Among the prisoners, there were taken colonel Sheffield, a younger son of the earl of Mulgrave, and one colonel Beckly a Scotchman; who, being both visibly wounded, acted their hurts so well, and pretended to be so ready to expire, that, upon their paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a rescue, they were suffered to rest at a private house in the way, within a mile of the field, till their wounds

it is pity to leave him here without some testimony. He was, as hath been said, of an ancient family and a fair estate in the county of Buckingham, where he was esteemed very much, which his carriage and behaviour towards all men deserved very well. But there was scarce a gentleman in England, of so good a fortune, (for he was owner of above 1500 pounds in land yearly,) less known out of the county in which he lived than he was, until he appeared in the exchequer chamber to support the right of the people in the case of ship-money; and, to avoid the payment of twenty shillings, which was required of him, engaged himself in a very great charge to make the illegality of it appear, against the king, and the current of the court at that time, when it seldom met with a barefaced opposition in any counsel they [thought] fit to undertake and pursue. Yet the king, who had reason to believe his title to be good, from the counsel that advised it, who was his attorney-general Noy, a man of the most famed knowledge in the law, gave the direction to have his right defended, without the least discountenance or reproach to the person who contended with him. This contradiction of the king's power made him presently the most generally known, and the most universally esteemed, throughout the whole nation, that any private man at that time could be. In the beginning of the parliament he was not without ambition to be of power in the court, and not finding that satisfaction quickly, he changed it into another ambition of reigning over the court, and was deepest in all the designs to destroy it; yet dissembled that design so well, that he had too much credit with men most moderate and sober in all their purposes. *Erat illi consilium ad facinus aptum; consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat.* No man seemed to have more modesty and more humility, and more to resign himself to those he conferred with, but always led them into his resolutions. In a word, he had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief; and his death appeared to be a great deliverance to the nation.

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should be dressed, and they recover so much strength as to be able to render themselves prisoners at Oxford. But the king's forces were no sooner gone, than they found means to send to their comrades, and were the next day strong enough, to suffer themselves to be removed to Thame, by a strong party sent from the earl of Essex; and, between denying that they had promised, and saying, that they would perform it, they never submitted themselves to be prisoners, as much against the law of arms, as their taking arms was against their allegiance. But that which would have been looked upon as a considerable recompense for a defeat, could not but be thought a great addition to the victory,[t] which was the death of Mr. Hambden; who, being shot into the shoulder with a brace of bullets, which brake the bone, within three weeks after died with extraordinary pain; to as great a consternation of all that party, as if their whole army had been defeated, or cut off.

Mr. Hambden wounded in Chalgrave field, of which he died.

Many men observed (as upon signal turns of great affairs, as this was, such observations are frequently made) that the field in which the late skirmish was, and upon which Mr. Hambden received his death's wound, Chalgrave field, was the same place in which he had first executed the ordinance of the militia, and engaged that county, in which his reputation was very great, in this rebellion: and it was confessed by the prisoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the alarm[u] that morning, after their quarters were

[t] a great addition to the victory,] a glorious crown of a victory,

[u] alarm] alarum

beaten up, he was exceeding[x] solicitous to draw forces together to pursue the enemy; and, being[y] a colonel of foot, put himself among those horse as a volunteer, who were first ready; and that when the prince made a stand, all the officers were of opinion to stay till their body came up, and he alone (being second to none but the general himself in the observance and application of all men) persuaded, and prevailed with them to advance; so violently did his fate carry him, to pay the mulct in the place where he had committed the transgression, about a year before.

He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamshire, and born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the licence in sports and exercises, and company, which were[z] used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all men; though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst, at his own charge,

[x] exceeding] exceedingly

[y] being] being himself

[z] were] was

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support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgment that was given against him infinitely more advanced him, than the service for which it was given. When this parliament begun, (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived,) the eyes of all men were fixed upon[a] him, as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own[b] with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those[c] from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and dis-

[a] upon] on
[b] of his own] *Not in MS.*
[c] that he infused his own opinions into those] that he left his opinions with those

cerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most [d] absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the parliament, he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned, that that moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and that he begot [e] many opinions and motions, the education whereof he committed to other men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would withdraw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of England, and what farther was entered into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the government [f] in parliament, no man doubts was at least with the privity of this gentleman.

[d] and the most] that is, the most

[e] begot] begat

[f] of the government] *Not in* MS.

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After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword, he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the king for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently, all[g] expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made into the earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party, than the general himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel, upon[h] all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to[i] the one party, than it was condoled in the other. [k]In a word, what was said of Cinna

[g] all] any
[h] upon] on
[i] pleasing [to] congratulated on
[k] In a word,—nation.] *These words are written by lord Clarendon in the margin, and directed to be inserted in the place*

might well be applied to him; "he had a head to "contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand "to execute, any mischief." His death therefore seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation.[k] 1643.

The earl of Essex's army[l] was so weakened by these defeats, and more by the sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near his unquiet and restless enemies. The factions and animosities at London required his presence there; and he thought the army would be sooner recruited there, than at so great a distance; so that he marched directly from Thame to London, where he found jealousy and contention enough; leaving his army quartered about St. Alban's. Whilst the affairs of the parliament were in this distraction, the king's recovered great reputation; and the season of the year being fit for action, all discontents and factious murmurings were adjourned to the next winter.

The earl of Essex marches from Thame to London; quartering his army about St. Alban's.

The end of the treaty, in which we left the chief commanders of the Cornish forces, with commissioners of the other western counties, was like that in other places; for notwithstanding those extraordinary obligations of oaths, and receiving the sacrament, circumstances in no other treaty, the par-

The king's affairs in the west.

of the following, through which he has drawn his pen: being an irrecoverable blow to the parliament army, of which the king had so little dread before that fortunate encounter, that hearing preparations were made at London to send sir William Waller into the west, his majesty had sent his nephew prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford to join with his victorious forces there; of whom it is now time to give an account.

[l] The earl of Essex's army] *The ensuing lines of the History are taken from MS. B.; with which is interwoven a short statement of the plot mentioned in page 57, &c. and also a brief account of the marquis of Hertford's proceedings in Cornwall: all which is given in Appendix A.*

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liament no sooner sent their votes and declarations to them, (the same which are before mentioned upon the treaties in Yorkshire and Cheshire,) and some members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all peaceable inclinations were laid aside; so that (having in the mean time industriously levied money, throughout Somerset and Devon, upon friends and enemies; and a good body of men) the night before the expiration of the treaty and cessation, James Chudleigh, the major general of the rebels, brought a strong party of horse and foot within two miles of Launceston, the head quarter of the Cornish, and the very next morning, the cessation not being determined till after twelve of the clock in the night, marched upon the town, where they were not sufficiently provided for them. For though the commanders of the Cornish had employed their time, as usefully as they could, during the cessation, in preparing the gentry of that country, and all the inhabitants, to submit to a weekly tax for the support of that power, which defended them; over and above which, the gentlemen, and persons of quality, freely brought in all their plate to be disposed of to the public; and though they foresaw, after the committee of parliament came into the country, that the treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore sir Ralph Hopton and sir Bevil Greenvil repaired to Launceston the day before the expiration of the treaty, to meet any attempt should be made upon them: yet, being to feed and pay their small forces out of one county,[m] they had been compelled to quarter their men at a great distance, that no

[m] one county,] one small county,

one part might be more oppressed than was necessary: so that all that was done the first day was, by the advantage of passes, and lining of hedges, to keep the enemy in action, till the other forces came up; which they seasonably did towards the evening; and then the enemy, who received great [n] loss in that day's action, grew so heartless, that in the night they retired to Okington, fifteen miles from the place of their skirmish. After which many small skirmishes ensued, for many days, with various success; sometimes the Cornish advancing in Devon, and then retiring again; for it appeared now, that a formed army was marching against them, so far superior in number, that there was no reasonable hope of resistance.

The earl of Stamford marches into Cornwall with an army.

Towards the middle of May, the earl of Stamford marched into Cornwall, by the north part, with a body of fourteen hundred horse and dragoons, and five thousand four hundred foot by the poll, with a train of thirteen brass ordnance, and a mortar-piece, and a very plentiful magazine of victual and ammunition, and every way in as good an equipage, as could be provided by men who wanted no money; whilst the king's small forces, being not half the number, and unsupplied with every useful thing, were at Launceston; of whom the enemy had so absolute [o] a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within six or seven miles, that they considered only how to take them after they were dispersed, and to prevent their running into Pendennis castle, to give them farther trouble. To which purpose having encamped themselves upon

[n] great] good [o] absolute] full

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the flat top of a very high hill, to which the ascents were very steep every way, near Stratton, being the only part of Cornwall eminently disaffected to the king's service, they sent a party of twelve hundred horse and dragoons, under the command of sir George Chudleigh, father to their major general, to Bodmin, to surprise the high sheriff and principal gentlemen of the country; and thereby, not only to prevent the coming up of any more strength to the king's party, but, under the awe of such a power of horse, to make the whole country rise for them. This design, which was not in itself unreasonable, proved fortunate to the king. For his forces which marched from Launceston, with a resolution to fight with the enemy, upon any disadvantage of place or number, (which, how hazardous soever, carried less danger with it, than retiring into the county, or any thing else that was in their power,) easily now resolved to assault the camp in the absence of their horse; and, with this resolution, they marched on Monday, the fifteenth of May, within a mile of the enemy; being so destitute of all provisions, that the best officers[p] had but a biscuit a man a day, for two days, the enemy looking upon them as their own.

On Tuesday the sixteenth of May, about five of the clock in the morning, they disposed themselves to their work; having stood in their arms all the night. The number of foot was about two thousand four hundred, which they divided into four parts, and agreed on their several provinces. The first was commanded by the lord Mohun and sir Ralph Hopton, who undertook to assault the camp on the

[p] officers] officer

south side. Next them, on the left hand, sir John Berkley and sir Bevil Greenvil were to force their way. Sir Nicholas Slanning and colonel Trevannion were to assault the north side; and, on the left hand, colonel Thomas Basset, who was major general of their foot, and colonel William Godolphin were to advance with their party; each party having two pieces of cannon to dispose as they found necessary: colonel John Digby commanding the horse and dragoons, being about five hundred, stood upon a sandy common which had a way to the camp, to take any advantage he could of[q] the enemy, if they charged; otherwise, to be firm as a reserve.

In this manner the fight begun[r]; the king's forces pressing, with their utmost vigour, those four ways up the hill, and the enemy's as obstinately defending their ground. The fight continued with very doubtful success, till towards three of the clock in the afternoon; when word was brought to the chief officers of the Cornish, that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder; which (concealing the defect from the soldiers) they resolved could be only supplied with courage: and therefore, by messengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full bodies, without making any more shot, till they reached the top of the hill, and so might be upon even ground with the enemy; wherein the officer's courage, and resolution, was so well seconded by the soldier, that they begun[s] to get ground in all places; and the enemy, in wonder of the men, who outfaced their sh[illegible]ith their swords, to quit their post. Major general Chud-

[q] of] on [r] begun] began [s] begun] began

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leigh, who ordered the battle, failed in no part of a soldier; and when he saw his men recoil from less numbers, and the enemy in all places gaining the hill upon him, himself advanced, with a good stand of pikes, upon that party which was led by sir John Berkley and sir Bevil Greenvil; and charged them so smartly, that he put them into disorder; sir Bevil Greenvil, in the shock, being borne to the ground, but quickly relieved by his companion; they so reinforced the charge, that having killed most of the assailants, and dispersed the rest, they took the major general prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much courage, as a man could do. Then the enemy gave ground apace, insomuch as the four parties, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the hill, between three and four of the clock they all met together upon one ground near the top of the hill; where they embraced with unspeakable joy, each congratulating the other's success, and all acknowledging the wonderful blessing of God; and being there possessed of some of the enemy's cannon, they turned them upon the camp, and advanced together to perfect the victory. But the enemy no sooner understood the loss of their major general, but their hearts failed them; and being so resolutely pressed, and their ground lost, upon the security and advantage whereof they wholly depended, some of them threw down their arms, and others fled; dispersing themselves, and every man shifting for himself: their general, the earl of Stamford, giving the example, who, (having stood at a safe distance all the time of the battle, environed with all the horse, which in small parties, though it is true their whole number was not above six or seven score, might

The earl is beaten near Stratton, May 16.

have done great mischief to the several parties of foot, who with so much difficulty scaled the steep hill,) as soon as he saw the day lost, and some say[t] sooner, made all imaginable haste to Exeter, to prepare them for the condition they were shortly to expect. BOOK VII. 1643.

The conquerors, as soon as they had gained the camp, and dispersed the enemy, and after public prayers upon the place, and a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for their deliverance and victory, sent a small party of horse to pursue the enemy for a mile or two; not thinking fit to pursue farther, or with their whole body of horse, lest sir George should return from Bodmin with his strong body of horse and dragoons, and find them in disorder; but contenting themselves with the victory they had obtained upon the place, which, in substance as well as circumstance, was as signal a one as hath happened to either party since the unhappy distraction; for on the king's party were not lost in all above fourscore men; whereof few were officers, and none above the degree of a captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten men died afterwards of their wounds. On the parliament side, notwithstanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the assailants, above three hundred were slain on the place, and seventeen hundred taken prisoners, with their major general, and above thirty other officers. They took likewise all their baggage and tents, all their cannon, being, as was said before, thirteen pieces of brass ordnance, and a brass mortar-piece; all their ammunition, being seventy barrels of pow-

[t] say] said

31887

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der, and all other sorts of ammunition proportionable, and a very great magazine of biscuit, and other excellent provisions of victuals; which was as seasonable a blessing as the victory, to those who, for three or four days before, had suffered great want of food as well as sleep, and were equally tired with duty and hunger. The army rested that night and the next day at Stratton; all care being taken by express messengers, to disperse the news of their success to all parts of that country, and to guard the passes upon the river Tamar, whereby to hinder the return of the enemy's horse and dragoons. But sir George Chudleigh had no sooner, with great triumph, dispersed the high sheriff, and gentlemen, who intended to have called the *posse comitatus*, according to their good custom, for the assistance of the king's party, and with little resistance entered Bodmin, when [u] he received the fatal news of the loss of their camp and army at Stratton. Upon which, with as much haste and disorder, as so great a consternation could produce among a people not acquainted with the accidents of war, leaving many of his men and horses a prey to the country people, himself, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into Plymouth; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into Exeter.

The earl of Stamford, to make his own conduct and misfortune the less censured, industriously spread abroad in all places, and confidently sent the same information to the parliament, "that he had "been betrayed by James Chudleigh; and that, in "the heat of the battle, when the hope of the day

[u] when] but

" stood fair, he had voluntarily, with a party, run " over to the enemy, and immediately charged the " parliament forces; which begot in all men a gene- " ral apprehension of treachery, the soldiers fearing " their officers, and the officers their soldiers revolt; " and thereupon the rout ensued." Whereas the truth is, as he was a young man of excellent parts and courage, he performed the part of a right good commander, both in his orders and his person; and was taken prisoner in the body of his enemy, whither he had charged with undaunted courage, when there was no other expedient in reason left. But this scandal so without colour cast on him, and entertained with more credit than his services had merited, (for, from the time of his engagement to the parliament, he had served not only with full ability, but with notable success, and was the only man that had given any interruption to the prosperity of the Cornish army, and in a night-skirmish, at Bradock Down near Okington, struck a great terror into them, and disordered them more than they were at any other time,) wrought so far upon the young man, together with the kind usage and reception he found as a prisoner among the chief officers, who loved him as a gallant enemy, and one like to do the king good service if he were recovered to his loyalty, that after he had been prisoner about ten days, he freely declared, " that he was convinced in " his conscience and judgment of the errors he had " committed;" and, upon promise made to him of the king's pardon, frankly offered to join with them in his majesty's [x] service; and so gave some counte-

[x] his majesty's] his

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nance to the reproach that was first most injuriously cast upon [y] him.

1643. The truth is, he was of too good an understanding, and too much generosity in his nature, to be affected to the cause which he served, or to comply with those arts, which he saw practised to carry it on; and having a command in Ireland when the war first broke out, he came thence into England, with a purpose to serve the king; and to that end [z], shortly after his majesty's coming to Oxford, he came thither to tender his service: but he found the eyes of most men fixed upon [a] him with prejudice and jealousy there, both for his family's sake, which was notoriously disaffected to the king, and for some errors of his own, in that plot, that was so much spoken of, to bring up the northern army to awe the parliament; in which business, being then a very young man, and of a stirring spirit, and desirous of a name, he had expressed much zeal to the king's service, and been busy in inclining the army to engage in such petitions and undertakings, as were not gracious to the parliament. But when that discovery was made by Mr. Goring, as is before remembered, and a committee appointed to examine the combination, this gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his examination, said much that was disadvantageous to the court, and therefore, bringing no other testimony with him to Oxford, but of his own conscience, he received nothing like countenance there; whereupon he returned to London, sufficiently incensed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertained for their western employment, where his nearest

[y] upon] on [z] end] purpose [a] upon] on

friends were throughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former passion being allayed, and his observation and experience convincing him, that the designs of the parliament were not such as were pretended, he resigned himself to those who first conquered him with force, and then with reason and civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the discipline and integrity of the forces, by whom he had been subdued; and with the piety, temper, and sobriety of the chief commanders, which indeed was most exemplary, and worthy the cause for which they were engaged; the reputation and conscience[b] whereof had alone carried them through the difficulties and straits, with which they were to contend.

This[c] army, willing to relieve their friends of Cornwall, from the burden which they sustained so patiently, hastened their march into Devonshire, not throughly resolved whether to attack Plymouth, or Exeter, or both; when advertisement came to them, by an express from Oxford, "that the king had sent "prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford, with "a very good body of horse, to join with them; and "that they were advanced towards them as far as "Somersetshire; and that sir William Waller was "designed by the parliament, to visit the west, with "a new army, which would receive a good recruit "from those who escaped from the battle of Strat-"ton:" so that it was necessary for all the king's forces in those parts to be united in a body, as soon as might be: hereupon it was quickly resolved to leave such a party at Saltash and Milbrook, as might defend faithful Cornwall from any incursions of Ply-

[b] conscience] confession

[c] This] The

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mouth, and with their army to march eastward; their number increasing daily upon the reputation of their new wonderful victory; many volunteers coming to them out of Devonshire, and very many of their prisoners professing, they had been seduced, and freely offering to serve the king against those who had wronged both; who, being entertained under some of their own converted officers, behaved themselves afterwards with great honesty and courage. And so making no longer stay by the way, than was necessary for the refreshing of their troops, the Cornish army, for that was the style it now carried, marched by Exeter, where the earl of Stamford, with a sufficient garrison, then was; and staying only two or three days to fix small garrisons, whereby that town, full of fear and apprehension, might be kept from having too great an influence upon so populous a county, advanced to Tiverton, where a regiment of foot of the parliament, under colonel Ware, a gentleman of that country, had fixed themselves; hoping sir William Waller would be as soon with them for their relief, as the Cornish would be to force them; which regiment [d] being easily dispersed, they stayed there to expect new orders from the marquis of Hertford.

When the loss of Reading was well digested, and the king understood the declining condition of the earl of Essex's army, and that he would either not be able to advance, or not in such a manner, as would give him much trouble at Oxford; and hearing in what prosperous state his hopeful party in Cornwall stood, whither the parliament was making

[d] regiment] *Not in MS.*

all haste to send sir William Waller, to check their good success; his majesty resolved to send the marquis of Hertford into those parts, the rather because there were many of the prime gentlemen of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, who confidently undertook, if the marquis went through those counties, with such a strength as they supposed the king would spare to him, they would in a very short time raise so considerable a power, as to oppose any force the parliament should be able to send. When the marquis was ready for his journey, news arrived of the great victory at Stratton; so that there was no danger in [e] the marquis's being able to join with that little Cornish army; and then there would appear [f] indeed a visible body worthy the name of an army. This put some persons upon desiring, that prince Maurice (who was yet in no other quality of command, than of a private colonel of horse, but had always behaved himself with great courage and vigilance) might be likewise disposed into a command of that army. Hereupon the king assigned him, and his highness willingly accepted to be lieutenant general under the marquis; who for many reasons, besides that he was actually possessed of it, was thought [g] fit to have the superior power over those western counties, where his fortune lay, and the estimation and reverence of the people to him was very great. [h] So the prince and the marquis, with prince Maurice's, and the earl of Carnarvon's, and colonel Thomas Howard's regiments of horse (the earl being general of

1643.

[e] in] of
[f] would appear] appeared
[g] thought] thought only
[h] very great.] notorious.

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the cavalry) advanced into the west; and staying only some few days at Salisbury, and after in Dorsetshire, whilst some new regiments of horse and foot, which were levying by the gentlemen in those parts, came up to them, made all convenient haste into Somersetshire, being desirous to join with the Cornish as soon as might be; presuming they should be then best able to perfect their new levies, when they were out of apprehension of being disturbed by a more powerful force. For sir William Waller was already marched out of London, and used not to stay longer by the way than was unavoidably necessary.

In the marquis's first entrance into the west, he had an unspeakable loss, and the king's service a far greater, by the death of Mr. Rogers, a gentleman of a rare temper, and excellent understanding; who, besides that he had a great interest in the marquis, being his cousin-german, and so, out of that private relation, as well as zeal to the public, passionately inclined to advance the service, had a wonderful great influence upon the county of Dorset, for which he served as one of the knights in parliament; and had so well designed all things there, that Poole and Lyme, (two port towns in that county, which gave the king afterwards much trouble,) if he had lived, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his death all those hopes were cancelled, the surviving gentry of that shire being, how well affected soever, so unactive, that the progress, that was that year made there to the king's advantage, owed little to their assistance.

About the middle of June, prince Maurice, and the marquis, with sixteen or seventeen hundred

horse, and about one thousand new levied foot, and seven or eight field-pieces, came to Chard, a fair town in Somersetshire, nearest the edge of Devonshire; where, according to order, they were met by the Cornish army; which consisted of above three thousand excellent foot, five hundred horse, and three hundred dragoons, with four or five field-pieces; so that, officers and all, being joined, they might well pass for an army of seven thousand men; with an excellent train of artillery, and a very fair proportion of ammunition of all sorts, and so good a reputation, that they might well promise themselves a quick increase of their numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the chief officers of the Cornish had not been much superior to that of their common soldiers, who valued themselves high, as the men whose courage had alone vindicated the king's cause in the west, there might have been greater disorder at their first joining, than could easily have been composed. For how small soever the marquis's party was in numbers, it was supplied with all the general officers of a royal army, a general, lieutenant general, general of the horse, general of the ordnance, a major general of horse, and another of foot, without keeping suitable commands for those who had done all that was past, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the chief officers of the Cornish army, by joining with a much less party than themselves, were at best in the condition of private colonels. Yet the same public thoughts still so absolutely prevailed with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations among inferior officers, and common soldiers; and were, with equal candour and estimation, valued by the prince and

The marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice, with their forces, join the Cornish army at Chard.

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marquis, who bethought themselves of all expedients, which might prevent any future [i] misunderstanding.

Taunton was the first place they resolved to visit, being one of [k] the fairest, largest, and richest towns [l] in Somersetshire; but withal as eminently affected to the parliament, where they had now a garrison; but they had not yet the same courage they recovered afterwards: for the army was no sooner drawn near the town, the head quarters being at Orchard, a house of the Portmans, two miles from the town, but the town sent two of their substantial inhabitants to treat; which, though nothing was concluded, struck that terror into the garrison, (the prisoners in the castle, whereof many were men of good fortunes, imprisoned there as malignants, at the same time raising some commotion there,) that the garrison fled out of the town to Bridgewater, being a less town, but of a much stronger situation; and, with the same panic fear, the next day, from thence; so that the marquis was possessed, in three days, of Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstar castle, so much stronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of Francis Windham, who wrought upon the fears of the owner and master of it, Mr. Lutterel, was, with as little bloodshed as the other, delivered up to the king; into which the marquis put him [m], that took it, as governor; as he well deserved.

The government of Taunton he committed to sir John Stawell, a gentleman of a very great estate in those parts; who [n], from the beginning, had heartily

[i] future] *Not in MS.*
[k] one of] *Not in MS.*
[l] towns] town
[m] put him] put in him
[n] who] and who

and personally engaged himself and his children for the king; and was in the first form of those who had made themselves obnoxious to the parliament. The other government, of Bridgewater, was conferred upon Edmund Windham, high sheriff of the county, being a gentleman of a fortune near the place, and of a [o] good personal courage, and unquestionable affection to the cause. The army stayed about Taunton seven or eight days, for the settling those garrisons, and to receive advertisements of the motion or station of the enemy; in which time they lost much of the credit and reputation they had with the country. For whereas the chief commanders of the Cornish army had restrained their soldiers from all manner of licence, obliging them to solemn and frequent actions of devotion, insomuch as the fame of their religion and discipline was no less than of their courage, and thereupon sir Ralph Hopton (who was generally considered as the general of that army, though it was governed by such a commission as is before remembered) was greedily expected in his own country, where his reputation was second to no man's; the horse, that came now with the marquis, having lived under a looser discipline, and coming now into plentiful quarters, unvisited by an army, eminent for their disaffection, [p] were disorderly enough to give the enemy credit in laying more to their charge than they deserved; and by their licence hindered those orderly levies, which should have brought in a supply of money, for the regular payment of the army. This [q] extravagancy produced another mischief, some

1643.

[o] a] *Not in MS.*

[p] eminent for their disaffection,] and yielding some excuse to this by the eminency of their disaffection,

[q] This] And this

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jealousy, or shadow of it, between the lord marquis and prince Maurice; the first, as being better versed in the policy of peace, than in the mysteries of war, desiring to regulate the soldier, and to restrain him from using any licence upon the country; and the prince being thought so wholly to incline to the soldier, that he neglected any consideration of the country, and not without some design of drawing the sole dependence of the soldier upon himself. But here were the seeds rather sown of dislike, than any visible disinclination produced; for after they had settled the garrisons before mentioned, they advanced, with unity and alacrity, eastward, to find out the enemy, which was gathered together in a considerable body, within less than twenty miles of them.

Whilst so much time was spent at Oxford, to prepare the supplies for the west, and in settling the manner of sending them; which might have been done much sooner, and with less noise; the parliament foresaw, that if all the west were recovered from them, their quarters would by degrees be so straitened, that their other friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had still all the western ports at their devotion, those in Cornwall only excepted; and their fleets had always great benefit by it. And though most of the gentry were engaged against them, as they were in truth in many parts[r] throughout the kingdom, yet the common people, especially in the clothing parts of Somersetshire, were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want men, if they sent a body of horse, and some arms, to countenance them; with

[r] in many parts] *Not in MS.*

the last of which they had sufficiently stored the sea-towns which were in their hands.[s] And therefore they resolved, that, though they could not easily recruit their army, they would send some troops of horse, and dragoons, into the west, to keep up the spirits of their friends there. And for the conduct of this service, they made choice of sir William Waller, a member of the house of commons, and a gentleman of a family in Kent.

The parliament sent sir William Waller into the west with an army.

Sir William Waller had been well bred; and,[t] having spent some years abroad, and some time in the armies there, returned with a good reputation home; and shortly after, having married a young lady, who was to inherit a good fortune in the west, he had a quarrel with a gentleman of the same family, who had the honour to be a menial servant to the king in a place near his person; which, in that time, was attended with privilege and respect from all men. These two gentlemen discoursing with some warmth together, sir William Waller received such provocation from the other, that he struck him a blow over the face, so near the gate of Westminster-hall, that there were witnesses, who swore,[u] "that it was in the hall itself," the courts being then sitting; which, according to the rigour of law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the court made the prosecution to be very severe; insomuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at a dear ransom; the benefit whereof was conferred on his adversary, which made the sense of it the

[s] had sufficiently stored the sea-towns which were in their hands.] had stored the sea-towns which were in their hands sufficiently.

[t] and,] *Not in MS.*

[u] there were witnesses, who swore,] he got witnesses to swear,

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more grievous: and this produced in him so eager a spirit against the court, that he was very open to any temptation, that might engage him against it; and so concurring in the house of commons with all those counsels which were most violent, he was employed in their first military action, for the reducing of Portsmouth; which he effected with great ease, as is remembered before: and when the earl of Essex had put the army into winter quarters, he had with some troops made a cavalcade or two into the west, so fortunately, that he had not only beat up some loose quarters, but had surprised a fixed and fortified quarter, made by the lord Herbert of Ragland near Gloucester; in which he took above twelve hundred prisoners, with all the officers; being a number very little inferior to his own party; which is likewise particularly remembered before. So that he got great reputation with the parliament and the city; and was there[x] called William the Conqueror. And it is very true, that they who looked upon the earl of Essex as a man that would not keep them company to the end of their journey, had their eyes upon sir William Waller, as a man more for their turn; and were desirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipse the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march with so great expedition and secrecy, that the marquis of Hertford was no sooner joined to the Cornish troops, (in which time Bridgewater, and Dunstar, and some other places, were reduced from the parliament,) before he was informed that sir William Waller was within two days' march of him, and was more like to draw

[x] there] *Not in MS.*

supplies to him from Bristol, and the parts adjacent, which were under[y] the parliament, than the marquis could from the open country; and therefore it was held most counsellable to advance, and engage him, whilst he was not yet too strong; and by this means they should continue still their march towards Oxford; which they were now inclined to do.[z] 1643.

Though sir William Waller himself continued still at Bath, yet the remainder of those horse and dragoons that escaped out of Cornwall, after the battle of Stratton, and such other as were sent out of Exeter for their ease, when they apprehended a siege, and those soldiers who fled out of Taunton and Bridgewater, and other regiments of the country, were by Alexander Popham, Strode, and the other deputy lieutenants of the militia for Somerset, rallied; and with the trained bands, and volunteer regiments of the country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the marquis had taken up his head quarters at Somerton, the enemy, before break of day, fell upon a regiment of dragoons, quartered a mile eastward from the town; and gave so brisk an alarm to the king's army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the enemy, (being the first they had seen make any stand before them, since the battle of Stratton,) who making stands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little skirmishes in the rear, retired in no ill order to Wells; and the king's forces still pursuing, they chose to

[y] were under] were all under

[z] which they were now inclined to do.] *The ensuing relation of the battles of Lansdown and Roundway-down are taken from MS. C. An abridged description of each, which in MS. B. follows this character &c. of sir W. Waller, will be found in Appendix B.*

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quit that city likewise; and drew their whole body, appearing in number as considerable as their pursuers, to the top of a hill, called Mendip Hill, overlooking the city of Wells, which they had left. The day being far spent, and the march having been long, the marquis, with all the foot, and train, stayed at Wells; but prince Maurice, and the earl of Carnarvon, with sir Ralph Hopton, and sir John Berkley, and two regiments of horse, resolved to look upon the enemy on the top of the hill; who suffered them, without interruption, to gain the top of the hill level with them, and then, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large front of their horse, to give their foot and baggage leisure and security, retired together as the prince advanced. This, and the natural contempt the king's horse yet had of the enemy, which in all skirmishes and charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore followed them farther, over those large hills, [a] till the enemy, who were anon to pass through a lane, and a village called Chewton, were compelled, before their entrance into the lane, to leave their reserve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the hill: which opportunity and advantage was no sooner discerned, as it had been foreseen, but the earl of Carnarvon (who always charged home) with an [b] incomparable gallantry charged the enemy, and pressed them so hard, that he entered the lane with them, and routed the whole body of their horse, and followed the execution of them above two miles.

But this was like to have been a dear success; for

[a] farther, over those large hills,] over those large hills farther than before,

[b] an] *Not in MS.*

sir William Waller, who lay with his new army at Bath, and had drawn to him a good supply out of the garrison at Bristol, had directed this body which was in Somerset, to retire before the king's forces till they should join with him, who had sent a fresh, strong party of horse and dragoons, to assist their retreat; which, by the advantage of a hedge,[c] had marched without being discovered: so that the earl of Carnarvon, being a stranger in the country and the ways, pursued the enemy[d] into sir William Waller's quarters, and till himself was pressed by a fresh body of horse and dragoons; when he was necessitated to retire in as good order as he could; and sent the prince, who followed him, word of the danger which attended them. His highness hereupon, with what haste he could, drew back through the village; choosing rather, with very good reason, to attend the enemy in the plain heath, than to be engaged in a narrow passage: thither the earl of Carnarvon with his regiment came to him, broken and chased by the enemy; who immediately drew up a large front of horse and dragoons, much stronger than the prince's party, who had only his own, and the earl of Carnarvon's regiments, with some gentlemen volunteers. The strait, and necessity he was in, was very great; for as he might seem much too weak to charge them, so the danger might probably be much greater to retire over these fair hills, being pursued with a fresh party much superior in number. Therefore he took a gallant resolution, to give the enemy a brisk charge with his own regiment upon their advance, whilst the earl rallied his, and prepared to second him, as

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[c] hedge,] fog,

[d] the enemy] the flying enemy

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there should be occasion. This was as soon and fortunately executed as resolved; the prince in the head of the[e] regiment charging so vigorously, that he utterly broke and routed that part of the front that received the impression. But almost half the enemy's horse, that, being extended larger than his front, were not charged, wheeled about, and charged the prince in the rear; and at the same time the earl of Carnarvon, with his rallied regiment, charged their rear; and all this so throughly performed, that they were mingled[f] one among the other, and the good sword was[g] to decide the controversy, their pistols being spent in the close. The prince himself received two shrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his horse; but he was presently relieved, and carried off; and the enemy totally routed, and pursued again by the earl of Carnarvon; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chase, and then he returned to the head quarters at Wells; there having been in these skirmishes threescore or fourscore men lost on the prince's party, and three times that number by the enemy; the action being too quick to take many prisoners.

At Wells the army rested many days, as well to recover the prince's wounds, being only cuts with swords, as to consult what was next to be done; for they were now within distance of an enemy that they knew would fight with them. For sir William Waller was at Bath with his whole army, much increased by those who were chased out of the west; and resolved not to advance, having all advantages of pro-

[e] the] his

[f] mingled] mingled pallmall

[g] was] *Not in MS.*

visions, and passes, till a new supply, he every day expected from London, were arrived with him. On the other side, the marquis was not only to provide to meet with so vigilant an enemy, but to secure himself at his rear, that the disaffection of the people behind him, who were only subdued, not converted, upon the advance of sir William Waller, might not take fresh courage. 'Though Cornwall was reasonably secured, to keep off any impression upon itself from Plymouth, yet Devonshire was left in a very unsafe posture: there being only a small party at Columb-John, a house of sir John Ackland's, three miles off Exeter, to control the power of that city, where the earl of Stamford was; and to dispute not only with any commotion that might happen in the country, but with any power that might arrive by sea. Upon these considerations, and the intelligence, that the parliament had sent directions to the earl of Warwick their admiral, "to attend the Devon-"shire coast with his fleet, and take any advantage "he could," the marquis, by the advice of the council of war, sent sir John Berkley back into Devonshire, with colonel Howard's regiment of horse, to command the forces which were then there, and to raise what numbers more he could possibly, for the blocking up that city, and reducing the county; and upon his arrival there, to send up to the army sir James Hamilton's regiment of horse and dragoons; which had been left in Devonshire; and, by the licence they took, weakened the king's party; so that, by sending this relief thither, he did not lessen at all his own numbers, yet gave great strength to the reducing those parts, as appeared afterwards by the success.

BOOK VII. 1643.

After this disposition, and eight or ten days' rest at Wells, the army generally expressing a cheerful [h] impatience to meet with the enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reason they should have; the prince and marquis advanced to Frome, and thence to Bradford, within four miles of Bath. And now no day passed without action, and very sharp skirmishes; sir William Waller having received from London a fresh regiment of five hundred horse, under the command of sir Arthur Haslerig: which were so completely [i] armed, that they were called by the other side the regiment of lobsters, because of their bright iron shells, with which they were covered, being perfect cuirassiers; and were the first seen so armed on either side, and the first that made any impression upon the king's horse; who, being unarmed, were not able to bear a shock with them; besides that they were secure from hurts of the sword, which were almost the only weapons the other were furnished with.

The contention was hitherto with parties; in which the successes were various, and almost with equal losses: for as sir William Waller, upon the first advance from Wells, beat up a regiment of horse and dragoons of sir James Hamilton's, and dispersed them; so, within two days, the king's forces beat a party of his from a pass near Bath, where the enemy lost two field-pieces, and near an hundred men. But sir William Waller had the advantage in his ground, having a good city, well furnished with provisions, to quarter his army together

[h] cheerful] handsome

[i] completely] prodigiously

in; and so in his choice not to fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the king's forces must either disperse themselves, and so give the enemy advantage upon their quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the field, and endure great distress of provision; the country being so disaffected, that only force could bring in any supply or relief. Hereupon, after several attempts to engage the enemy to a battle upon equal terms, which, having the advantage, he wisely avoided; the marquis and prince Maurice advanced with their whole body to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath towards Oxford; presuming, that, by this means, they should draw the enemy from their place of advantage, his [k] chief business being to hinder them from joining with the king. And if they had been able to preserve that temper, and had neglected the enemy, till he [l] had quitted his [m] advantages, it is probable they might have fought upon as good terms as they desired. But the unreasonable contempt they had of the enemy, and confidence they should prevail in any ground, together [n] with the straits they endured for want of provisions, and their want of ammunition, which was spent as much in the daily hedge-skirmishes, and upon their guards, being so near as could have been in battle, would not admit that patience; for sir William Waller, who was not to suffer that body to join with the king, no sooner drew out his whole army to Lansdown, which looked towards Marsfield, but they suffered themselves to be engaged upon great disadvantage.

It was upon the fifth of July when sir William

[k] his] their
[l] he] they
[m] his] their
[n] together] *Not in MS.*

BOOK VII.

1643. The battle of Lansdown, July 5.

Waller, as soon as it was light, possessed himself of that hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the hill over the high way, raised breast-works with fagots and earth, and planted cannon there, he sent a strong party of horse towards Marsfield, which quickly alarmed the other army, and was shortly driven back to their body. As great a mind as the king's forces had to cope with the enemy, when they had drawn into battalia, and found the enemy fixed on the top of the hill, they resolved not to attack them upon so great disadvantage; and so retired again towards their old quarters: which sir William Waller perceiving, sent his whole body of horse and dragoons down the hill, to charge the rear and flank of the king's forces; which they did throughly, the regiment of cuirassiers so amazing the horse they charged, that they totally routed them; and, standing firm and unshaken themselves, gave so great terror to the king's horse, who had never before turned from an enemy, that no example of their officers, who did their parts with invincible courage, could make them charge with the same confidence, and in the same manner they had usually done. However, in the end, after sir Nicholas Slanning, with three hundred musketeers, had fallen upon and beaten their reserve of dragooners, prince Maurice and the earl of Carnarvon, rallying their horse, and winging them with the Cornish musketeers, charged the enemy's horse again, and totally routed them; and in the same manner received two bodies more, and routed and chased them to the hill; where they stood in a place almost inaccessible. On the brow of the hill there were breast-works, on which were pretty bodies of small shot, and some cannon; on

either flank grew a pretty thick wood towards the declining of the hill, in which strong parties of musketeers were placed; at the rear was a very fair plain, where the reserves of horse and foot stood ranged; yet the Cornish foot were so far from being[n] appalled at this disadvantage, that they desired to fall on, and cried out, "that they might have leave "to fetch off those cannon." In the end, order was given to attempt the hill with horse and foot. Two strong parties of musketeers were sent into the woods, which flanked the enemy; and the horse and other[o] musketeers up the road way, which were charged by the enemy's horse, and routed; then sir Bevil Greenvil advanced with a party of horse, on his right hand, that ground being best for them; and his musketeers on the left; himself leading up his pikes in the middle; and in the face of their cannon, and small-shot from the breast-works, gained the brow of the hill, having sustained two full charges of the enemy's horse; but in the third charge his horse failing, and giving ground, he received, after other wounds, a blow on the head with a pole-axe, with which he fell, and many of his officers about him; yet the musketeers fired so fast upon the enemy's[p] horse, that they quitted their ground, and the two wings, who were sent to clear the woods, having done their work, and gained those parts of the hill, at the same time beat[q] off their enemy's[r] foot, and became possessed of the breast-works; and so made way for their whole body of horse, foot, and cannon, to ascend the hill; which they quickly did, and planted themselves on the ground they had won;

[n] other] *Not in MS.*
[o] other] *Not in MS.*
[p] enemy's] *Not in MS.*
[q] beat] they beat.
[r] enemy's] *Not in MS.*

BOOK VII. 1643.

the enemy retiring about demi-culverin shot behind a stone wall upon the same level, and standing in reasonable good order.

Either party was sufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to stand still. The king's horse were so shaken, that of two thousand which were upon the field in the morning, there were not above six hundred on the top of the hill. The enemy was exceedingly scattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with those who had beaten them from the hill; so that, exchanging only some shot from their ordnance, they looked one upon another till the night interposed. About twelve of the clock, it being very dark, the enemy made a show of moving towards the ground they had lost; but giving a smart volley of small-shot, and finding themselves answered with the like, they made no more noise: which the prince observing, he sent a common soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word, "that "the enemy had left lighted matches in the wall be- "hind which they had lain, and were drawn off the "field;" which was true; so that, as soon as it was day, the king's army found themselves possessed entirely of the field, and the dead, and all other ensigns of victory: sir William Waller being marched to Bath, in so much disorder and apprehension, that he left great store of arms, and ten barrels of powder, behind him; which was a very seasonable supply to the other side, who had spent in that day's service no less than fourscore barrels, and had not a safe proportion left.

In this battle, on the king's part, there were more officers and gentlemen of quality slain, than common

men; and more hurt than slain. That which would have clouded any victory, and made the loss of others less spoken of, was the death of sir Bevil Greenvil. He [s] was indeed an excellent person, whose activity, interest, and reputation, was the foundation of what had been done in Cornwall; and his temper and affections so public, that no accident which happened could make any impressions in him; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter courage, and a gentler disposition, were never married together to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation. BOOK VII. 1643. Sir Bevil Greenvil slain.

Very many officers and persons of quality were hurt; as the lord Arundel of Wardour, shot in the thigh with a brace of pistol bullets; sir Ralph Hopton, shot through the arm with a musket; sir George Vaughan, and many others, hurt in the head of their troops with swords and pole-axes; of which none of name died. But the morning added much to the melancholy of their victory, when the field was entirely their own. For sir Ralph Hopton riding up and down the field to visit the hurt men, and to put the soldiers in order, and readiness for motion, sitting on his horse, with other officers and soldiers about him, near a waggon of ammunition, in which were eight barrels of powder; whether by treachery, or mere accident, is uncertain, the powder was blown up; and many, who stood nearest, killed; and many more maimed; among whom [t] sir Ralph Hopton and sergeant major Sheldon were miserably hurt; of which, major Sheldon, who was thought to be in less

[s] He] who

[t] whom] which

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danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the whole[u] army, where he was wonderfully beloved, as a man of an undaunted courage, and as great gentleness of nature. Sir Ralph Hopton, having hardly so much life, as not to be numbered with the dead, was put into a litter, and then the army marched to their old quarters at[x] Marsfield; exceedingly cast down with their morning's misfortune, (sir Ralph Hopton being indeed the soldiers' darling,) where they reposed themselves the next day, principally in care of sir Ralph Hopton, who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to travel. In this time many of the horse, which had been routed in the morning, before the hill was won, found the way to Oxford; and, according to the custom of those who run away, reported all to be lost, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the field; but the next day brought a punctual advertisement from the marquis, but, withal, a desire of a regiment or two of fresh horse, and a supply of ammunition; whereupon the earl of Crawford with his regiment of horse, consisting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with such a proportion of ammunition as was desired.

After a day's rest at Marsfield, it being understood that sir William Waller was still at Bath, (his army having been rather surprised and discomforted with the incredible boldness of the Cornish foot, than much weakened by the number slain, which was no greater[y] than on the king's part,) and that

[u] whole] *Not in MS.*
[x] at] to
[y] no greater] not greater

he had sent for fresh supply from Bristol; it was concluded, rather to march to Oxford, and so to join with the king's army, than to stay and attend the enemy, who was so near his supplies: and so they marched towards Chippenham. But when sir William Waller had intelligence of the blowing up of the powder, of which he well knew there was scarcely enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infused new spirit into his men; and verily believed that they had no ammunition, and that the loss of sir Ralph Hopton (whom the people took to be the soul of that army, the other names being not so much spoken of, or so well known, and at this time believed to be dead) would be found in the spirits of the soldiers; and having gotten some fresh men from Bristol, and more from the inclinations of the three counties of Wilts, Gloucester, and Somerset, which joined about Bath, in the most absolute disaffected parts of all three, he followed the marquis towards Chippenham; to which he was as near from Bath, as the other from Marsfield. 1643.

The next day, early in the morning, upon notice that the enemy was in distance, the prince and the marquis drew back the army through Chippenham, and presented themselves in battalia to the enemy; being very well contented to fight in such a place, where the success was to depend more on their foot, who were unquestionably excellent, than on their horse, which were at best weary, though their officers were, to envy, forward and resolute. But sir William Waller, who was a right good chooser of advantages, liked not that ground; relying as much upon his horse, who had gotten credit and courage, and as little upon his foot, who were only well

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armed, and well bodied, very vulgarly spirited, and officered: so that having stood all night in battalia, and the enemy not coming on, the prince and marquis, the next day, advanced towards the Devizes; sir Nicholas Slanning, with great spirit and prudence, securing the rear with strong parties of musketeers; with which he gave the enemy, who pressed upon them very smartly, so much interruption, that sir William Waller, despairing of overtaking, sent a trumpet to the marquis, with a letter, offering a pitched field at a place of his own choosing, out of the way. The which being easily understood to be only a stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the marquis carried the trumpet three or four miles with him, and then sent him back with such an answer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and sharp skirmishes in the rear; the enemy pressing very hard, and being always with loss repulsed, till the army safely reached the Devizes.

Then the case was altered for their retreat to Oxford, the enemy being upon them with improvement of courage, and improvement of numbers; sir William Waller having dispersed his warrants over the country, signifying "that he had beaten the "marquis," and requiring the people "to rise in all "places for the apprehension of his scattered and "dispersed troops;" which confidence, men conceived, could not proceed from less than a manifest victory; and so they flocked to him as the master of the field. The foot were no more now to make the retreat; the situation of the place they were now in, being such as they could move no way towards Oxford, but over a campaign of many miles, where the stronger in horse must needs prevail.

Hereupon, it was unanimously advised, and consented to, that the lord marquis and prince Maurice should that night break through, with all the horse, to Oxford; and that sir Ralph Hopton (who, by this, was supposed past danger of death, and could hear and speak well enough, though he could not see or stir) with the earl of Marlborough, who was general of the artillery, the lord Mohun, and other good officers of foot, should stay there with their foot and cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themselves, for a few days, till the general might return with relief from Oxford; which was not above thirty miles off. This resolution was pursued; and, the same night, all the horse got safe away into the king's quarters, and the prince and marquis, in the morning, came to Oxford; by which time sir William Waller had drawn all his forces about the Devizes. The town was open, without the least fortification or defence, but small ditches and hedges; upon which the foot were placed, and some pieces of cannon conveniently planted. The avenues, which were many, were quickly barricadoed to hinder the entrance of the horse, which was [z] principally apprehended. Sir William Waller had soon notice of the remove of the horse; and therefore, intending that pursuit no farther, he brought his whole force close to the town, and beleaguered it round; and having raised a battery upon a hill near the town, he poured in his shot upon it without intermission, and attempted to enter in several other places with horse, foot, and cannon; but was in all places more resolutely resisted,

[z] was] were

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and repulsed. At the same time, having intelligence (as his intelligence was always most exact in whatsoever concerned him) of the earl of Crawford's marching with a supply of powder, according to order, after the first battle[a] of Lansdown, he sent a strong party of horse and dragoons to intercept him; who, before he knew of the alterations which had happened, and of the remove of the horse towards Oxford, was so far engaged, that he hardly escaped with the loss of his ammunition, and a troop or two of his horse.

Upon this improvement of his success, sir William Waller reckoned his victory out of question; and thereupon sent a trumpet into the town to summon the besieged, to let them know, "that he "had cut off their relief, and that their state was "now desperate; and therefore advised them to "submit themselves to the parliament, with whom "he would mediate on their behalf." They in the town were not sorry for the overture; not that they apprehended it would produce any conditions they should accept, but that they might gain some time of rest by it: for the straits they were in were too great for any minds not prepared to preserve their honour at any rates. When the enemy came first before the town, and the guards were supplied with ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of match left in the store; whereupon diligent officers were directed to search every house in the town, and to take all the bedcords they could find, and to cause them to be speedily beaten, and boiled. By this sudden expe-

[a] first battle] first notice of the battle

dient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of such serviceable match, as very well endured that sharp service. The [b] compass of the ground they were to keep was so large, and the enemy pressed so hard upon all places, that their whole body were upon perpetual duty together, neither officer or soldier having any time for rest; and the activity of the chief officers was most necessary to keep up the courage of the common men, who well enough understood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this message; and returned, "that they would send an "officer to treat, if a cessation were agreed to dur-"ing the time of the treaty;" which was consented to, if it were suddenly expedited.

On the party of the besieged were proposed such terms, as might take up most time in the debate, and might imply courage and resolution to hold out. Sir William Waller, on the other hand, offered only quarter, and civil usage to the officers, and leave to the common soldiers to return to their houses without their arms, except they would voluntarily choose to serve the parliament. These being terms many of the officers would not have submitted to in the last [c] extreme, the treaty ended; after those in the town had gained what they only looked for, seven or eight hours' sleep, and so long time sparing of ammunition. The truth is, sir William Waller was so confident that they were at his mercy, that he had written to the parliament, "that "their work was done, and that, by the next post, "he would send the number and quality of his pri-

[b] The] Then the

[c] last] latest

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"soners;" neither did he imagine it possible that any relief could have been sent from Oxford; the earl of Essex, to whom he had signified his success, and the posture he was in, lying with his whole army at Thame, within ten miles of it. But the importance was too well understood by the king to omit any thing, that might, with the utmost hazard, be attempted for the redeeming those men, who had wrought such wonders for him. And therefore, as soon as the marquis and prince arrived at Oxford, with the sad and unexpected news, and relation of the distress of their friends, though the queen was then on her march towards Oxford, and the king had appointed to meet her two days' journey for her security, his majesty resolved to take only his own guards of horse, and prince Rupert's regiment, for that expedition; and sent the lord Wilmot with all the rest of the horse, to march that very day, in which the advertisement came to him, towards the Devizes; so that the marquis and the prince coming to Oxford on the Monday morning, the lord Wilmot, that night, moved towards the work; and prince Maurice returning with him as a volunteer, but the lord Wilmot commanding in chief, appeared, on the Wednesday about noon, upon the plain within two miles of the town.

The lord Wilmot had with him fifteen hundred horse, and no more, and two small field-pieces, which he shot off, to give the town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair campaign about the town, when the enemy should rise from before it, he[d] should be able in spite of

[d] he] that he

them to join with the foot, and so to have a fair field for it; which would be still disadvantageous enough, the enemy being superior by much in horse, very few of those who had broken away from the Devizes (except the prince himself, the earl of Carnarvon, and some other officers) being come up with them, because they were tired, and dispersed.[e] The enemy, careful to prevent the joining of this party of horse with the foot, and fully advertised of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the town; and put themselves in battalia upon the top of a fair hill, called Roundway-down; over which the king's forces were necessarily to march, being full two miles off the town: they within conceived it hardly possible, that the relief, they expected from Oxford, could so soon arrive; all the messengers, who were sent to give notice of it, having miscarried by the closeness of the siege; and therefore suspected the[f] warning pieces from the plain, and the drawing off the town by the enemy, to be a stratagem to cozen the foot from those posts they defended, into the open field; and so, very reasonably, being in readiness to march, they[g] waited a surer evidence, that their friends were at hand; which shortly arrived; and assured them, "that the prince was near[h], and "expected them."

It will be easily conceived, with what alacrity they advanced to meet him[i]; but sir William Waller had purposely chose that ground to hinder that

[e] because they were tired, and dispersed.] partly because they were tired and dispersed; and partly because it was not desired to have many of those who might have their old terror still upon them.

[f] the] that the

[g] they] *Not in MS.*

[h] near] by

[i] to meet him] *Not in MS.*

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conjunction, and advanced so fast on the lord Wilmot, that without such removes[k] and traverses, as might give his men some apprehension, that lord[l] could not expect the foot from the town; and therefore he put his troops in order upon that ground to expect the enemy's charge, who were somewhat more than musket-shot off in order of battle.

Here sir William Waller, out of pure gaiety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of battle, with strong wings of horse to his foot, and a good reserve placed, and his cannon usefully planted, apprehending still the conjunction between the horse and the foot in the town, and gratifying his enemy with the same contempt, which had so often brought inconveniences upon them, and discerning their number inferior to that he had before (as he thought) mastered, he marched, with his whole body of horse, from his foot, to charge the enemy; appointing sir Arthur Haslerig with his cuirassiers apart, to make the first impression; who was encountered by sir John Byron, in whose regiment the earl of Carnarvon charged as a volunteer; and after a sharp conflict, in which sir Arthur Haslerig received many wounds, that impenetrable regiment was routed, and, in a full career, chased upon their other horse. At[m] the same time, the lord Wilmot charging them from division to division, as they were ranged, in half an hour, so sudden alterations the accidents of war introduce, the whole entire body of the triumphant horse were so totally routed and dispersed, that there was not one of them to be seen upon

The battle of Roundway-down, wherein sir William Waller is routed.

[k] removes] shifts [l] that lord] he [m] At] And at

that large spacious down; every man shifting for himself with greater danger by the precipices of that hill, than he could have undergone by opposing his pursuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, so it was as ill for the pursuer; and after the rout, more perished by falls and bruises from their horses, down the precipices, than by the sword. The foot stood still firm, making shew of a gallant resistance; but the lord Wilmot quickly seized their cannon, and turned them upon them, at the same time that the Cornish foot, who were by this come from the town, were ready likewise to charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and so they were charged on all sides, and either killed, or taken prisoners, very few escaping; the Cornish retaining too fresh a memory of their late distresses, and revenging themselves on[n] those who had contributed thereunto.[o] Sir William Waller himself, with a small train, fled into Bristol, which had sacrificed a great part of their garrison in his defeat; and so were even ready to expire at his entry into the town, himself bringing the first news of his disaster.

This glorious day, for it was a day of triumph, redeemed for that time[p] the king's whole affairs, so that all clouds that shadowed them seemed to be dispelled, and a bright light of success to shine over the whole kingdom. There were in this battle slain, on the enemy's part, above six hundred on the place; nine hundred prisoners taken, besides two or three hundred retaken and redeemed, whom they had gathered up in the skirmishes and pursuit; with all their cannon, being eight pieces of brass ordnance;

[n] on] of

[o] thereunto.] the least thereunto.

[p] for that time] *Not in MS.*

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all their arms, ammunition, waggons, baggage, and victual; eight and twenty foot ensigns, and nine cornets; and all this by a party of fifteen hundred horse, with two small field-pieces, (for the victory was perfect, upon the matter, before the Cornish came up; though the enemy's [q] foot were suffered to stand in a body uncharged, out of ceremony, till they came; that they might be refreshed with a share in the conquest,) against a body of full two thousand horse, five hundred dragoons, and near three thousand foot, with an excellent train of artillery. So that the Cornish had great reason to think their deliverance, and victory at Roundway, more signal and wonderful than the other at Stratton, save that the first might be thought the parent of the latter, and the loss on the king's party was less; for in this there were slain very few; and, of name, none but Dudley Smith, an honest and valiant young gentleman; who was always a volunteer with the lord Wilmot, and among the first upon any action of danger.

Besides the present fruit of this victory, the king received an advantage from the jealousy, that, from thence, grew among the officers of the parliament armies. For sir William Waller believed himself to be absolutely betrayed, and sacrificed by the earl of Essex, out of envy at the great things he had done, which seemed to eclipse his glories; and complained, "that he, lying with his whole army within ten "miles of Oxford, should suffer the chief[r] strength "of that place to march thirty miles to destroy him, "without so much as sending out a party to follow "them, or to alarm Oxford, by which they would

[q] enemy's] *Not in MS.*

[r] chief] whole

" have been probably recalled." On the other hand, the earl, disdaining to be thought his rival, reproached the other with " unsoldierly neglects, and want of " courage, to be beaten by a handful of men, and to " have deserted his foot and cannon, without engag- " ing his own person in one charge against the ene- " my." Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven; but, from the enmity that proceeded from thence, the king often afterwards reaped very notable and seasonable advantages; which will be remembered in their places [s].

[s] in their places.] *Thus originally continued in MS. C. (the ensuing page of the History being taken from the manuscript of lord C.'s life:)* This thirteenth of July was a day of perfect joy to the king; for at the same time, and in the very hour, that the lord Wilmot vanquished that army at Roundway-down, the king met and received his royal consort the queen, to his unspeakable satisfaction, in that ground under Edge-hill upon which the year before he had fought his first battle: her majesty having left the earl of Newcastle in a great likelihood of being entirely master of the north; whose actions there were so prosperous, and so full of notable accidents, that they deserve a history apart; and therefore I shall only insert such of them in this place as were most signal, and which had the greatest influence upon the series of the greatest affairs.

Upon the queen's arrival, (which is before set forth at large,) and the conversion of sir Hugh Cholmondley which ensued thereupon, the king's affairs in the north, which were in good growth and improvement before, flourished with notable vigour; and yet it must be confessed, the enemy in those parts, with whom the earl of Newcastle was to contend, in courage, vigilance, and insuperable industry, was not inferior to any who disquieted his majesty in any part of his dominions, and who pursued any advantage he got farther, and recovered any loss he underwent sooner, than any other in the kingdom: so that there were more sharp skirmishes and more notable battles in that one county of York, than in all the kingdom besides, and less alteration upon them, than could be expected; the lord Fairfax and his son with incredible activity reducing towns when they had an army, and when they were defeated in the field, out of small towns recovering new armies. About—*Here the noble historian stops, leaving two pages blank*

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This blessed defeat happened to be upon the same day, and upon the same time of the day, when the king met the queen upon the field near Keinton, under Edge-hill, where the battle had been fought in October before; and before their majesties came to Oxford, they received the happy news of it. It is easy to imagine the joy with which it was received, all men raising their fallen spirits to too great a height, [t] as though they should now go through all the work without farther opposition; and this transport [u] to either extremes was too natural upon all the vicissitudes of the war; and it was some allay to the welcome news of the victory to some men, that it had been obtained under the command and conduct of Wilmot; who was very much in prince Rupert's disesteem, and not in any notable degree of favour with the king, but much beloved by [x] all the good fellowship of the army; which was too great a body. It was now time for the king's army, victorious in so many encounters, to take the field; upon what enterprise, was the question. This overthrow of Waller had infinitely surprised, and increased the distractions at London. They had seen the copy of the [y] warrants, which his vanity had caused to be dispersed, after the action at Lansdown; in which he declared, "that he had routed the marquis's army, and was in "pursuit of them; and therefore commanded the "justices of peace, and constables, to give order for "the apprehension of them, as they fled dispersed;" and expected every day, that the marquis would be

for the transactions he was about to relate, but which unfortunately he seems never to have completed.

[t] to too great a height,] to a height too proportionable,

[u] transport] transportation

[x] by] in

[y] the] his

sent up prisoner: and now to hear that his whole invincible army was defeated, and himself fled, upon the matter, alone, (for ill news is for the most part made worse, as the best is reported to be better than it is,) brought them to their wits end; so[z] that they could little advance the recruiting the earl of Essex's army; who in his person likewise grew more sullen towards them, and resented their little regard of him, and grew every day more conversant with the earls of Northumberland and Holland, and others who were most weary of the war, and would be glad of peace upon easy terms.[a]

The king meets the queen near Keinton: she coming with a great recruit.

The king's army received a fair addition, by the conjuncture with those forces which attended the queen; for her majesty brought with her above two thousand foot, well armed, and one thousand horse, and[b] six pieces of cannon, and two mortars, and about one hundred waggons. So that as soon as their majesties came to Oxford, the earl of Essex, who had spent his time about Thame and Aylesbury, without any action after that skirmish in which Mr. Hambden was slain, save by small parties, of which there was none of name or note, but one handsome smart conflict between a party of five hundred horse and dragoons, commanded by colonel Middleton, a Scotchman, on the parliament party, and a regiment of horse, commanded by sir Charles Lucas, on the king's; where, after a very soldierly contest, and more blood

[z] so] *Not in MS.*

[a] upon easy terms.] *In MS. B., from whence the last page is taken, there follows an account of the siege and capture of Bristol, and of the beginning of the jealousy between the princes Rupert and Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford; which (as a fuller and more circumstantial account of both is inserted in this History from the other MS.) will be found in Appendix C.*

[b] and] with

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drawn than was usual upon such actions, the king's party prevailed, returning with some prisoners of name, and the slaughter of one hundred of their enemy, not without some loss of their own: the earl, I say,[c] retired with his army broken, and disheartened, to Uxbridge, giving over any thought of fighting with the king, till he should be recruited with horse, men, and money; and suffering no less in the talk of the people, (who began to assume a great freedom in discourse,) for not interposing to hinder the queen's march to Oxford, and joining with the king, than for sitting still so near Oxford, whilst the lord Wilmot went from thence to the ruin of sir William Waller.

The earl of Essex retires from Thame with his army to Uxbridge.

After which defeat, the lord Wilmot retired to Oxford to attend his majesty; and the Cornish army (for that name it deservedly kept still, though it received so good an increase by the marquis and prince's joining with them) drew back, and possessed themselves of Bath, which was soon quitted to them,[d] upon the overthrow of Waller; that garrison being withdrawn to reinforce Bristol. At Bath they rested, and refreshed themselves, till they might receive new orders from the king; who, upon full advice, and consideration of the state he was in, and the broken condition of the enemy, resolved to make an attempt upon the city of Bristol; to which prince Rupert was most inclined, for his[e] being disappointed in a former design; and where there were many well affected to the king's service from the beginning, and more since the execution of those two

[c] the earl, I say,] *Not in MS.*
[d] which was soon quitted to them,] which was quitted,
[e] his] *Not in MS.*

eminent citizens. And the disesteem generally had[f] of the courage of Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, made the design to be thought the more reasonable; so[g] the marquis and prince Maurice returned to Bath, upon agreement to appear, on such a day, with their whole strength, before Bristol, on the Somersetshire side, when prince Rupert with the Oxford forces would appear before it, on the Gloucestershire side.

Bristol besieged by prince Rupert.

On the four and twentieth of July, both armies sat down before it; quartering their horse in that manner, that none could go out or in to the city, without great hazard of being taken; and the same day, with the assistance of some seamen, who were prepared before, they seized all the ships that were in King-road; which, were not only laden with goods[h] of great value, as plate, money, and the best sort of all commodities, which those who suspected the worst had sent aboard, but with many persons of quality; who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a siege, thought that way to have secured themselves, and to have escaped to London; and so were all taken prisoners. The next day, prince Rupert came to his brother, and the marquis, and a general council of all the principal officers of both armies being assembled, it was debated, "in what manner "they should proceed, by assault or approach."

There were in the town five and twenty hundred foot, and a regiment of horse and dragoons; the line about the town was finished; yet in some places the graff was wider and deeper than in others. The castle within the town was very well prepared, and

[f] had] *Not in MS.* [g] so] and so [h] goods] things

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supplied with great store of provisions to endure a siege. The opinions were several: the officers of the Cornish were of opinion, "that it was best to "proceed by way of approach; because, the ground "being very good, it would in a very short time be "done; and since there was no army of the enemy "in a possibility to relieve it, the securest way "would be the best; whereas the works were so "good, that they must expect to lose very many "men; and, if they were beaten off, all their sum-"mer hopes would be destroyed; it not being easy, "again to make up the spirit of the army for a new "action. Besides, they alleged, the well affected "party in the city, which was believed to be very "great, would, after they had been closely besieged "three or four days, have a greater influence upon "the soldier, and be able to do more towards the "surrender, than they could upon a storm; when "they would be equally sensible of the disorder of "the soldier, and their own damage by plunder, as "the other; and the too late example of the exe-"cuted citizens would keep men from offering at "any insurrection in the city."

On the other hand, prince Rupert, and all the officers of his army, very earnestly desired to assault it; alleged "the work to be easy, and the soldiers fitter "for any brisk attempt, than a dull patient design; "and that the army would be more weakened by "the latter than the former: that the city, not hav-"ing yet recovered the consternation of sir William "Waller's defeat, was so full of horror, that it would "make a very weak defence: that there was no "soldier of experience in the town, and the go-vernor himself not like to endure the terror of a

"storm: whereas, if they gave them time to consider, and to look long upon them with a wall between, they would grow confirmed and resolute, and courage would supply the place of skill; and having plenty of all kinds of provisions within the town, they would grow strong and peremptory, whilst the besiegers grew less vigorous, and disheartened." These reasons, and the prince's importunity, with some insinuations of knowing more than was fit to be spoken, as if somewhat would be done within the town, that must not be mentioned, and a glorious contempt of danger, prevailed so far, that it was consented to, on all parts, to assault the town the next morning at three places on the Somersetshire side, and at three places on the Gloucestershire side, at the break of day. The truth is, both opinions, with regard to their different circumstances,[i] were in themselves reasonable. For the Gloucestershire side, where prince Rupert was, might be stormed, the graff being shallow, and the wall, in some places, low and weak; which could not be easily approached, by reason the ground was rocky, and the redoubts high and very strong, which overlooked the ground; on the other side the ground was very easy to approach, and as inconvenient and dangerous to storm, by reason of a plain level before the line, and a broad and deep graff, and the line throughout better flankered than the other.

The next morning, with little[k] other provisions fit for such a work, than[l] the courage of the assailants, both armies fell on. On the west side, where

[i] with regard to their different circumstances,] without any circumstances,

[k] little] no

[l] than] but

BOOK VII. 1643. the Cornish were, they assaulted the line in three places; one division led by sir Nicholas Slanning, assisted with colonel John Trevannion, lieutenant colonel Slingsby, and three more field officers; too great a number of such officers to conduct so small a party as five hundred men, if there had not been an immoderate disdain of danger, and appetite of glory: another division, on the right hand, was led by colonel Buck, assisted by colonel Wagstaffe, colonel Bernard Ashley, who commanded the regiment of the lord marquis Hertford, with other field officers:[m] and the third division, on the left hand, led by sir Thomas Basset, who was major general of the Cornish. These three divisions fell on together with that courage and resolution, as nothing but death could control; and though the middle division got into the graff, and so near filled it, that some mounted the wall, yet by the prodigious disadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the besieged made within, they were driven back with a great slaughter; the common soldiers, after their chief officers were killed, or desperately wounded, finding it a bootless attempt.

On prince Rupert's side, it was assaulted with equal courage, and almost equal loss, but with better success; for though that division, led on by the lord Grandison, colonel general of the foot, was beaten off, the lord Grandison himself being hurt; and the other, led by colonel Bellasis, likewise had no better fortune; yet colonel Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain (between the places assaulted by the other two) weaker than

[m] field officers:] officers of the field:

the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the horse to follow. The enemy, as soon as they saw the line entered in one place, either out of fear, or by command of their officers, quit their posts; so that the prince entered with his foot and horse into the suburbs; sending for one thousand of the Cornish foot, which were presently sent to second him; and marched up to Fromegate, losing many men, and some very good officers, by shot from the walls and windows; insomuch as all men were much cast down to see so little gotten with so great a loss; for they had still[n] a more difficult entrance into the town than they had yet passed, and where their horse could be of no use to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of generals and soldiers, the city beat a parley; which the prince willingly embracing, and getting their hostages into his hands, sent colonel Gerrard and another officer to the governor to treat. The treaty began about two of the clock in the afternoon, and, before ten at night, these articles were agreed on, and signed by all parties.

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It is surrendered upon articles.

1. "That the governor,[o] Nathaniel Fiennes, together with all the officers both of horse and foot, now within and about the city of Bristol, castle, and forts, may march out to-morrow morning by nine of the clock, with their full arms, bag and baggage, provided it be their own goods: and that the common foot soldiers march out without arms, and the troopers with their horses and swords, leaving their other arms behind them, with a safe convoy to Warminster; and after, not

[n] still] *Not in MS.*

[o] That the governor, &c.] *These articles are in the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

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"to be molested in their march, by any of the "king's forces, for the space of three days.

2. "That there may be carriages allowed and "provided to carry away their bag and baggage, "and sick and hurt soldiers.

3. "That the king's forces march not into the "town, till the parliament forces are marched out; "which is to be at nine of the clock.

4. "That all prisoners in the city be delivered "up; and that captain Eyres and captain Cookein, "who were taken at the Devizes, be released.

5. "That sir John Horner, sir John Seymour, "Mr. Edward Stevens, and all other knights, gen- "tlemen, citizens, and other persons, that are now "in the city, may, if they please, with their goods, "wives, and families, bag and baggage, have free "liberty to return to their own homes, or elsewhere, "and there to rest in safety, or ride, and travel "with the governor and forces: and such of them, "and their families, as shall be left behind, by rea- "son of sickness or other cause, may have liberty, "so soon as they can conveniently, to depart this "town with safety; provided that all gentlemen, "and other persons, shall have three days' liberty "to reside here, or depart with their goods, which "they please.

6. "That all the inhabitants of the city shall be "secured in their persons, families, and estates, free "from plundering, and all other violence, or wrong "whatsoever.

7. "That the charters and liberties of this city "may be preserved; and that the ancient govern- "ment thereof, and present governors and officers,

" may remain and continue in their former condi-
" tion, according to his majesty's charters and plea-
" sure.

8. " That, for avoiding inconveniences and dis-
" tractions, the quartering of soldiers be referred or
" left to the mayor, and governor of the same city
" for the time being.

9. " That all such as have carried any goods into
" the castle may have free liberty to carry the same
" forth.

10. " That the forces, that are to march out, are
" to leave behind them all cannon, and ammunition,
" with their colours, and such arms as is before ex-
" pressed."

The next morning, if not before, (for the truth is, from the time that the treaty was first offered, they in the town kept no guards, nor observed any order; but their soldiers run away to the prince, and many of his soldiers went into the town,) his highness was possessed of Bristol, the enemy then marching away. Here the ill example of [p] Reading, in the breach of the articles, was remembered, and unhappily followed; for all that garrison was now here. So that they, with some colour of right, or retaliation, and the rest, by their example, used great licence to the soldiers, who should have been safely conducted; which reflected much upon the prince, though he used his utmost power to suppress it; and charged colonel Fiennes to be accessary to his own wrong, by marching out of the town an hour before his appointment; and thereby his convoy was not ready; and at another gate than

[p] of] at

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was appointed and agreed on. And as the articles were thus unhappily violated to those who went away, so they were not enough observed to those who stayed, and to the city itself: for many of colonel Fiennes' soldiers taking conditions, and entering with the king's army, instructed their new friends, who were most disaffected; so that one whole street upon the bridge, the inhabitants whereof lay under some brand of malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honest men among them, was almost totally plundered; which, because there was but little justice done upon the transgressors, was believed to be done by connivance from the officers, and more discredited the king's forces, and his cause, than was then taken notice of, or discovered. It was a noble attribute given to the brave Fabricius, *qui aliquid esse crederet et in hostem nefas.* I wish I could excuse those swervings from justice and right, which were too frequently practised against contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were rebels, and could not be too ill used; when, as the cause deserved, so it needed all the ingenuity and integrity, in the propugners of it, to keep despair from the guilty, who were by much too numerous for the innocent.

This reduction of Bristol was a full tide of prosperity to the king, and made him master of the second city of his kingdom, and gave him the undisturbed possession of one of the richest counties of the kingdom, (for the rebels had now no standing garrison, or the least visible influence upon any part of Somersetshire,) and rendered Wales (which was before well affected, except some towns in Pem-

brokeshire) more useful to him; being freed of the fear of Bristol, and consequently of the charge that always attends those fears; and restored to the trade with Bristol; which was the greatest support of those parts. Yet the king might very well have said, what king Pyrrhus heretofore did, after his second battle, by the city of Asculum, with the Romans, where he won the victory; "If we win an-"other at this price, we are utterly undone." And truly his majesty's loss before this town was inestimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am persuaded there were slain, upon the several assaults, of common men, but such as were tried and incomparable foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent officers, whereof many were of prime command and quality.

On the Cornish side fell, besides major Kendall, and many other inferior officers, excellent in their degree, colonel Buck, a modest and a stout commander, and of good experience in war: who having got over the graff, and even to the top of the wall, was knocked down with a halbert, and perished in the graff; sir Nicholas Slanning, and colonel John Trevannion, the life and soul of the Cornish regiments, whose memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulsion, but of conscience, and their own observation of the ill practices and designs of the great conductors, (for they both were of the house of commons,) engaged themselves with the first in the opposition; and as soon as sir Ralph Hopton, and those other gentlemen came into Cornwall, joined with them; and being both of singular reputation, and good fortunes

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there, the one in possession, the other in reversion after his father, they engaged their persons and estates in the service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it should be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themselves to all infirmities, and condescending [q] to all capacities, for removing all obstructions, which accidentally arose among those, who could only prosper by being of one mind. Sir Nicholas Slanning was governor of Pendennis castle, upon the credit and security whereof, the king's party in that country first depended, and, by the command it had of the harbour of Falmouth, was, or might be, supplied with all that was necessary. He was indeed a young man of admirable parts, a sharp and discerning wit, a staid and solid judgment, a gentle and most obliging behaviour, and a courage so clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would have rendered him very considerable: they were both young,[r] neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to sir Bevil Greenvil, whose body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almost in the same minute, and in the same place; both shot in the thigh with musket bullets;[s] their bones broken, the one dying presently, the other some few days after; and both had the royal sacrifice of their sovereign's very particular sorrow, and the concurrence of all good men's; and, that which is a greater solemnity to their memories, as it fares with most great, and virtuous men, whose loss is better understood long afterwards, they were

[q] condescending] descending
[r] young,] very young,
[s] musket bullets;] a musket bullet;

as often lamented, as the accidents in the public affairs made the courage and fidelity of the Cornish of greatest signification to the cause. BOOK VII. 1643.

On the north side, of prince Rupert's army, fell very many good officers, the chief of whom was colonel Harry Lunsford, an officer of extraordinary sobriety, industry, and courage; near[t] whom, his excellent lieutenant colonel Moyle was likewise hurt, and died within few days, both shot out of a window after they had entered the suburbs. There were hurt, the lord viscount Grandison, nephew to the great duke of Buckingham, who was colonel general of the king's foot; colonel John Bellasis, since lord Bellasis; colonel Bernard Ashley; colonel sir John Owen; and many other officers of name, of whom none of quality died of their wounds but the lord Grandison; whose loss can never be enough lamented. He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a lover of justice and integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this war, could make him swerve from the most precise rules of it; and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court, or camp, could not shew a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour, and courage of all kinds, (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the corrupt opinion of honour, as to venture himself in duels,) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person; his affection, and zeal, and obedience to the king, was

[t] near] by

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such as became a branch of that family. And he was wont to say, "that if he had not understanding "enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor "loyalty enough to inform him of the duty of a "subject, yet [u] the very obligations of gratitude to "the king, on the behalf of his house, were such, as "his life was but a due sacrifice:" and therefore, he no sooner saw the war unavoidable, than he engaged all his brethren, as well as himself, in the service; and there were then three more of them in command in the army, where [x] he was so unfortunately cut off.

As soon as the news of the taking of Bristol came to the king at Oxford, after a solemn thanksgiving to God for the success, which was immediately and publicly performed, his majesty assembled his privy-council, to consider how this great blessing in war might be applied to the procuring a happy peace; and that this might be the last town he should purchase at the price of blood. It was evident, that, as this last victory added great lustre and beauty to the whole face of his affairs, so it would produce an equal paleness, and be an ominous presage to the parliament; where the jealousies and apprehensions between themselves still grew higher, and new remedies still proposed, which were generally thought worse than the disease.

The two houses send commissioners into Scotland for relief.

Upon the news of the lord Fairfax's being defeated in the north, which came about this time, [y] they resolved [z] to send a committee of the two houses into Scotland, "to desire their brethren of

[u] yet] that
[x] where] when
[y] which came about this time,] *Not in MS.*
[z] they resolved] they resolved presently

"that kingdom presently to advance with an army "for their relief;" which was thought so desperate a cure, that the lords naming the earl of Rutland, and lord Grey of Warke, for that embassy, the earl upon indisposition of health procured a release; and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on him, so peremptorily refused to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower; and, in the end, they were compelled to depute only commoners to that service: and so sir William Armyne, young sir Henry Vane, and two more, assisted with Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye, two of their powerful clergy, were embarked in that negociation; upon which, they who sent them were so far from being confident, and so little satisfied, that they should be driven to bring in foreign forces, with the purpose whereof they had so long traduced the king, that there was, some few desperate persons only excepted, even a universal desire of peace; and the earl of Essex himself, writing to the speaker of the house of commons, of the defects in his army, and of his wants of horse, men, and money, advised, "that they would think of sending some reasonable "propositions to the king, for the procuring a safe "peace;" which being the first intimation he had ever given to that purpose, together with his familiarity and correspondence with those lords, who were known passionately to desire an accommodation, gave them sad apprehensions; which were increased by some severe messages they received from him, for his vindication from the foul aspersions and calumnies, which were generally and publicly laid on him, for his unactivity after the winning Reading, whilst the queen marched securely to Oxford,

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and sir William Waller was destroyed; as if "he "would think of some way of righting himself, if "they were not sensible on his behalf."

How to work upon these discomposed humours, and to reduce them to such temper, that they might consent to the kingdom's peace, was the argument of the king's consultations: but by what expedient to promote this, was the difficulty. After the breach of the last treaty, and when the king had in vain laboured to revive it, and could not procure any answer from them to his last messages; but instead thereof his messenger imprisoned, tried before a council of war for his life, and still in custody, and a declaration, "that whosoever should be employed "by his majesty, on any message to them, without "their leave, should be proceeded against as a spy," (so that though they pretended to be his great council, they upon the matter now protested against any relation to his majesty,) he advised with his council, "what might be fit for him to do, to lessen "the reverence and reputation of them with the "people:" for the superstition towards the name of a parliament was so general, that the king had wisely forborne to charge the two houses with the treason and rebellion which[a] was raised, but imputed it to particular persons, who were most visibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion, "that all the members who stayed there, and "sat in either house, being guilty of so many trea-"sonable acts, thereby the parliament was actually "dissolved, by the same reason as a corporation, by "great misdemeanour and crime, might forfeit their

[a] which] that

"charter; and therefore that the king should, by "his proclamation, declare the dissolution of it, and "then consider whether it were fit to call another." But this opinion was generally disliked, both "because it was conceived not to be just; for the "treason of those who were present could not for-"feit the right of those who were away; neither "was it evident, that all that were present[b] con-"sented to the ill that was done; and the king's "declaring a parliament to be dissolved, contrary to "an act of parliament, was believed, would prove "an act so ungracious to the people, for the conse-"quences of it, that the king would be an exceed-"ing loser by such an attempt; and that many, in "such a case, would return thither, who out of con-"science had withdrawn from that assembly."

In conclusion, the advice was unanimous, "that "his majesty should declare the orders and pro-"ceedings of one or both houses to be void, by rea-"son the members did not enjoy the freedom and "liberty of parliament; and therefore should[c] re-"quire his good subjects, no longer to be misled by "them:" and, to that purpose, the king had issued his proclamation six weeks before this happy turn in his affairs, so that he could not now send a message to them, as to two houses of parliament, lest he might seem to retract his former judgment of them, which was concluded to be both regular and just. Upon the whole matter, lest his majesty might be understood to be so much elated with his good successes, and the increase of his strength, that he aimed at no less than a perfect victory, and the ruin

[b] all that were present] all present [c] should] *Not in MS.*

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of those who had incensed him, (by which insinuations they, who could not forgive themselves, endeavoured to make all others desperate,) he was resolved to publish such a declaration to the whole kingdom, that both houses, and their [d] army, could not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a rise to make any overtures to him towards an atonement. To [e] that purpose, the next day after he received the assurance of the taking of Bristol, his majesty published this ensuing declaration; which [f] I shall enter in his own words.

His majesty's [g] declaration to all his loving subjects, after his victories over the lord Fairfax in the north, sir William Waller in the west, and the taking of Bristol by his majesty's forces.

The king's declaration after his late successes.

"As the grievances and losses of no particular "persons, since these miserable bloody distempers "have disquieted this poor kingdom, can be com- "pared to the loss and damage we ourself have sus- "tained, there having been no victory obtained but "in the blood of our own subjects, nor no rapine or "violence committed, but to the impoverishment "and ruin of our own people; so, a blessed and "happy peace cannot be so acceptable and welcome "to any man, as to us. Almighty God, to whom "all the secrets of our heart are open, who hath so "often and so miraculously preserved us, and to "whose power alone we must attribute the good-

[d] their] *Omitted in MS.*
[e] To] And to
[f] which] which being short
[g] His majesty's &c.] *In the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

" ness of our present condition, (how unhappy so-
" ever it is with reference to the public calamities,)
" knows, with what unwillingness, with what an-
" guish of soul, we submitted ourself to the neces-
" sity of taking up defensive arms. And the world
" knows with what justice and bounty we have re-
" paired our subjects, for all the pressures and in-
" conveniences they had borne, by such excellent
" laws, as would for ever have prevented the like;
" and with what earnestness and importunity we
" desired to add any thing, for the establishment of
" the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom.
" How all these have been disturbed, invaded, and
" almost destroyed, by faction, sedition, and trea-
" son, by those, who have neither reverence to God,
" nor affection to men, but have sacrificed both to
" their own ends and ambition, is now so evident,
" that we hope, as God hath wonderfully manifested
" his care of us, and his defence of his and our most
" just cause; so he hath so far touched the hearts
" of our people, that their eyes are at last opened
" to see how miserably they have been seduced, and
" to abhor those persons, whose malice and subtlety
" had seduced them to dishonour him, to rebel
" against us, and to bring much misery and cala-
" mity upon their native country.

" We well remember the protestation voluntarily
" made by us, in the head of that small army we
" were master of in September last, to defend and
" maintain the true reformed protestant religion:
" and if it should please God, by his blessing upon
" that army, to preserve us from this rebellion, that
" we would maintain the just privileges and free-
" dom of parliament, and govern by the known

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"laws of the land; for whose defence, in truth, "that army was only raised, and hath been since "kept. And there cannot be a more seasonable "time to renew that protestation than now, when "God hath vouchsafed us so many victories and "successes, and hath rendered the power of those, "who seek to destroy us, less formidable than it "hath been, (so that we shall probably not fall un- "der the scandalous imputation, which hath usually "attended our messages of peace, that they proceed "from the weakness of our power, not love of our "people,) and when there is more freedom in many "counties, for our good subjects to receive true in- "formation of their own and our condition; the "knowledge whereof hath been, with equal indus- "try and injustice, kept from them, as other acts of "cruelty have been imposed on them.

"We do therefore declare to all the world, in "the presence of Almighty God, to whom we must "give a strict account of all our professions and "protestations, that we are so far from intending "any alteration of the religion established, (as hath "been often falsely, scandalously, and against the "conscience of the contrivers themselves of that ru- "mour, suggested to our people,) or from the least "thought of invading the liberty and property of "the subject, or violating the just privileges of par- "liament, that we call that God to witness, *who "hath covered our head in the day of battle*, that "we desire from our soul, and shall always use our "utmost endeavour, to preserve and advance the "true reformed protestant religion, established in "the church of England; in which we were born, "have faithfully lived, and, by the grace of God,

" shall resolutely die: that the preservation of the
" liberty and property of the subject, in the due ob-
" servation of the known laws of the land, shall be 1643.
" equally our care, as the maintenance of our own
" rights; we desiring to govern only by those good
" laws, which, till they were oppressed by this odi-
" ous rebellion, preserved this nation happy. And
" we do acknowledge the just privileges of parlia-
" ment to be an essential part of those laws, and
" shall therefore most solemnly defend and observe
" them. So that, in truth, if either religion, law,
" or liberty, be precious to our people, they will, by
" their submission to us, join with us in the defence
" of them; and thereby establish that peace, by
" which only they can flourish, and be enjoyed.

" Whether these men, that be professed enemies
" to the established ecclesiastical government, who
" reproach and persecute the learned orthodox mi-
" nisters of the church, and into their places put ig-
" norant, seditious, and schismatical preachers, who
" vilify the Book of Common Prayer, and impiously
" profane God's worship with their scurrilous and
" seditious demeanour, are like to advance that re-
" ligion; whether those men, who boldly, and with-
" out the least shadow or colour of law, impose in-
" supportable taxes and odious excises upon their
" fellow subjects, imprison, torment, and murder
" them, are like to preserve the liberty and pro-
" perty of the subject: and whether those men,
" who seize and possess themselves of our own un-
" questionable revenue, and our just rights, have
" denied us our negative voice, have, by force and
" violence, awed and terrified the members of both
" houses, and lastly have, as far as in them lies, dis-

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" solved the present parliament, by driving away " and imprisoning the members, and resolving the " whole power thereof, and more, into a committee " of a few men, contrary to all law, custom, or pre- " cedent, are like to vindicate and uphold the privi- " leges of parliament, all the world may judge.

" We do therefore once more conjure our good " subjects, by their memory of that excellent peace " and firm happiness, with which it pleased God to " reward their duty and loyalty in time past; by " their oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which no " vow or covenant, contrived and administered to " and by themselves, can cancel or evade; by what- " soever is dear and precious to them in this life, or " hoped or prayed for in the life to come, that they " will remember their duty, and consider their in- " terest, and no longer suffer themselves to be mis- " led, their prince dishonoured, and their country " wasted and undone by the malice and cunning of " those state impostors; who, under pretence of re- " formation, would introduce whatsoever is mon- " strous and unnatural both to religion and policy: " but that they rather choose quietly to enjoy their " religion, property, and liberty, founded and pro- " vided for by the wisdom and industry of former " times, and secured and enlarged by the blessings " upon the present age, than to spend their lives " and fortunes to purchase confusion, and to make " themselves liable to the most intolerable kind of " slavery, that is, to be slaves to their fellow sub- " jects; who, by their prodigious, unheard of acts " of oppression and tyranny, have given them suffi- " cient evidence what they are to expect at their " hands.

"And let not our good people, who have been "misled, or, through want of understanding, or "want of courage, submitted themselves to unwar- "rantable and disloyal actions, be taught, by these "seducers, that their safety now consists in despair; "and that they can only secure themselves for the "ills they have done, by a resolute and peremptory "disobedience. Revenge and blood-thirstiness have "never been imputed to us, by those, who have not "left either[h] our government, or nature, unex- "amined, with the greatest boldness and malice. "And all those who, since those bloody distractions, "out of conscience have returned from their evil "ways to us, have found, that it was not so easy for "them to repent, as for us to forgive. And whoso- "ever have been misled by those whose hearts from "the beginning have designed all this mischief, and "shall redeem their past crimes by their present ser- "vice and loyalty, in the apprehending or opposing "such who shall continue to bear arms against us, "and shall use their utmost endeavours to reduce "those men to their due obedience, and to restore "this kingdom to its wonted peace, shall have cause "to magnify our mercy, and to repent the trespasses "committed against so just and gracious a sovereign. "Lastly, we desire all our good subjects who have "really assisted, or really wished us well, now God "hath done such wonderful things for us, vigor- "ously to endeavour to put an end to all these mi- "series, by bringing in men, money, plate, horses, "or arms, to our aid; that so we being not wanting "to ourselves, may with confidence expect the con-

[h] not left either] left neither

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"tinuance of God's favour, to restore us all to that "blessed harmony of affections, which may establish "a firm peace; without the speedy obtaining of "which, this poor kingdom will be utterly undone, "though not absolutely lost."

What effect this declaration[i] produced, at least what accident fell out shortly after the publishing it, we shall have occasion anon to remember, when we have first remembered some unfortunate passages, which accompanied this prosperity on the king's part; for the sunshine of his conquest was somewhat clouded, not only by the number and quality of the slain, but by the jealousies and misunderstandings of those who were alive. There was not, from the beginning, that conformity of humour and inclinations between the princes and the marquis of Hertford, as had been to be wished between all persons of honour, who were engaged in a quarrel that could never prosper but by the union of the undertakers. Prince Maurice, and, on his behalf, (or rather the other by his impulsion,) prince Rupert, taking to heart, that a nephew of the king's should be lieutenant general to the marquis, who had neither been exercised in the profession of a soldier, nor even now punctually studied the office of a general: on the other hand, the marquis, who was of the most gentle nature to the gentle, and as rough and resolute to the imperious, it may be liked not the prince's assuming to himself more than became a lieutenant general, and sometimes crossing acts of his with relation to the governing and disposing the affairs of the country, in which he knew himself

Jealousies arise among the

[i] declaration] proclamation

better versed than the prince; and when Bristol was taken, where the marquis took himself to command in chief, being a town particularly within his commission, and of which he was besides lord lieutenant, he thought himself not regardfully enough used, that prince Rupert had not only entered into the treaty without his advice, but concluded the articles without so much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little ceremony to his highness, or so much as communicating it to either of the princes, the marquis declared that he would give the government of that city to sir Ralph Hopton. Prince Rupert on the other hand conceived the town won by him, being entered on that side in which he commanded absolutely, and the Cornish on the other part absolutely repulsed; and therefore that the disposition of the command and government of it wholly belonged to him. But when he heard the resolution of the marquis concerning sir Ralph Hopton, who was not to be put into the scale with any private man, he gave over the design of conferring it upon any of the pretenders; and by the same messenger, by whom he advertised his majesty of the good success, he desired, "that he would bestow the government of "that city, reduced by him, upon himself;" the which the king readily consented to, not suspecting any dispute to be about it. And shortly after an express arrived likewise from the marquis, with an account of all particulars, and that his lordship had designed sir Ralph Hopton to be governor of the new-got city.

king's principal officers about the government of Bristol.

Then, and not before, the king understood what strait he was in; and was exceedingly perplexed to

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find an expedient to compose the difference that he saw would arise. He had passed his word to his nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his title to dispose the government was very just: he had likewise[k] a very just esteem of the marquis, who had served him with all fidelity, and had[l] clearly declared himself for him, when the doing otherwise would have been most prejudicial to his majesty: and, it could not be denied, no subject's affection and loyalty gave a greater lustre to the king's cause, than that of the marquis; and that which was a circumstance of infinite moment, was the nominating sir Ralph Hopton; who as he was a person of high merit from the king, so he was the most gracious and popular to that city, and the country adjacent; and after so great service, and suffering in the service, to expose him to a refusal, was both against the kindness and goodness of the king's nature, and his politic foresight into his affairs. And as a presage how various the interpretation would be abroad, of whatsoever he should determine, he found the minds and affections of his own court and council, with more passion than ordinary, ready to deliver their opinions. The marquis was generally loved, and where he was not enough known to be so, his interest and reputation in the kingdom was thought of wonderful consideration in the king's business: and many were very much troubled to see prince Rupert, whose activity and courage in the field they thought very instrumental, incline to get the possession of the second city of the kingdom into his hands, or to engage

[k] he had likewise] so he had

[l] had] who

himself so much in the civil government, as such a command soberly executed must necessarily comprehend: and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime noblemen of the kingdom, to which order the prince had not expressed himself very debonair. And these thought "the king was, by counsel and "precept, to reform and soften the prince's under- "standing and humour; and to persuade him, in "compliance with his service, to decline the con- "test, and suffer the marquis to proceed in his dis- "position, which, on all parts, was acknowledged to "be most fitly designed." 1643.

Others again were of opinion, "that the right of "disposing the command to whomsoever he thought "fit, entirely belonged to prince Rupert; and there- "fore (besides that the king had, by the same mes- "senger who brought the suit, returned his consent) "that he could not be reasonably refused, when he "desired it for himself; which would take away all "possible imagination of disrespect to[m] sir Ralph "Hopton, who could not take it ill, that the prince "himself had taken a command, that was designed "to him: that the eyes of the army were upon his "highness, whose name was grown a terror to the "enemy, as his courage and conduct had been very "prosperous to the king; and if, after so happy and "glorious an achievement, he should now receive a "repulse in so reasonable a pretence, though it would "not lessen his own duty or alacrity in the service, "it might have an unhappy influence upon his re- "putation and interest in the army; which could "receive no diminution without apparent damage to

[m] to] from.

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" his majesty: and therefore, that some means should " be used to the marquis, to wave his title, and to " consent that the prince should enjoy his desires :" so that they who were only fit to be employed to persuade and alter either, seemed, and indeed were, passionately engaged against the thing they were to persuade. Whereupon [n] the king discerned that all depended upon his own royal wisdom; and therefore resolved to take a journey in his own person to Bristol, and there to give such a rule as he should find most necessary; to which, he presumed, both persons would conform themselves, as well cordially, as obediently.

The king goes to Bristol to compose the difference.

That which the king proposed to himself was, to gratify his nephew with the name, and the marquis, by making sir Ralph Hopton enjoy the thing; upon obliging whom the king's care was very particular. For though he knew his nature, as in truth it was, most exactly free from interrupting the least public service by private ends or thoughts, other men would be apt to conceive and publish a disrespect to be done to him, which himself apprehended not; and therefore his majesty [o] was not only, in his own princely mind, to retain a very gracious sense of his service, but to give evidence to all men, that he did so. And so after he had made a joyful entrance into Bristol, which was performed with all decent solemnity, and used all kind and obliging expressions to the marquis, he desired him in private [p] to consent, that he might perform his promise to his nephew, which he had passed before he had any

[n] Whereupon] So that
[o] and therefore his majesty] and therefore that he
[p] he desired him in private] and in private desired

imagination that his lordship otherwise had determined of it; without speaking at all of any other title his highness [q] had to it, but by his majesty's promise. He established prince Rupert in the government of Bristol, who immediately sent a commission to sir Ralph Hopton, (who was now so well recovered, that he walked into the air,) to be his lieutenant governor; signifying likewise to him, by a confident that [r] passed between them, "that though "he was now engaged for some time, which should "not be long, to keep the superior title himself, he "would not at all meddle in the government, but "that he should be as absolute in it, as if the origi-"nal commission had been granted to him." 1643.

Sir Ralph Hopton, who was exceedingly sorry that his name was at all used, and exposed, as an argument of difference and misunderstanding between persons of such eminent influence upon the public, quickly discerned that this expedient, though it seemed plausibly to lessen the noise of the debate, did in truth object him to the full envy of one party. For the marquis (who by the king's persuasions was rather quieted than satisfied) might, and he foresaw would, be persuaded to expect that he would refuse the commission from prince Rupert, both, as he might be thought to comply in an injury done to the marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, fast, and unshaken, and as the command now given him was inferior to what the marquis, who had the power of disposal, had conferred on him; and so that he should vindicate the title, which the king himself was loath to give a judgment upon. He

[q] his highness] he

[r] a confident that] a confidant who

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was [s] the more troubled, because he found that, by submitting to this charge, he should by some be thought to have deserted the marquis out of a kind of revenge for his having deserted the enterprise, when he chose, the last year, rather to go into Wales than Cornwall, and for his [t] deserting him again now, when he brought all new officers to command the army over their heads who had raised it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the first, as is before remembered, was done by his own advice, as well as his full consent; and the latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to prince Maurice than to his lordship, whose kindness and esteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he saw plainly, that if he refused to receive this commission, with what specious circumstances of duty and submission soever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable disturbances and interruptions in the king's affairs; and that the marquis, to common understandings, had, to obey the king, declined the contest[u], and therefore that the reviving it, and the mischief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular account. Besides that, he had always borne an avowed and declared reverence to the queen of Bohemia and her children, whom he had personally and actively served in their wars, whilst they maintained any, and for whose honour and restitution he had been a zealous and known champion. And therefore he had no inclination to disoblige a hopeful prince of that house, upon whom our own

[s] He was] And he was
[t] for his] *Not in MS.*
[u] contest] contestation

hopes seemed so much to depend. He therefore[x] resolved, according to his rare temper throughout this war, to let him whom he professed to serve, choose in what kind he would be served by him; and cheerfully received the commission from prince Rupert; upon which, all discourse, or debate of difference, was for the present determined, what whisperings or murmurings soever remained. BOOK VII. 1643.

The king found it now high time to resolve, to what action next to dispose his armies, and that their lying still so long there (for these agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that season unfortunately lost) had more weakened, than refreshed them; having not lost more men by storming the city, than afterwards by plundering it: those soldiers, who had warmed themselves with the burden of pillage, never quietly again submitting to the carriage of their arms.

The question was first, "whether both armies "should be united, and march in one upon the next "design?" And then, "what that design should "be?" Against the first, there were many allegations.

1. "The condition of the west: Dorsetshire and "Devonshire were entirely possessed by the enemy; "for though sir John Berkley with a daring party "kept Exeter, and colonel John Digby the north "part (which was notoriously disaffected) from join- "ing with Plymouth, which would else quickly have "grown into an army strong enough to infest Corn- "wall, yet they had no place to retire to upon dis-

[x] He therefore] So that he

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"tress; and all the ports upon the western coasts "were garrisoned by the parliament,[y] which, upon "the fame of the approach of the king's forces, and "the loss of Bristol, might probably be, without "much resistance, reduced.

2. "The Cornish army was greater in reputation, "than numbers; having lost many at Lansdown, "and the assault of Bristol, and, by the death of "their chief officers, very many were run away "since; besides they pretended some promise made "to their country (which they conceived not to be "enough secured against Plymouth) of returning "speedily for the reduction of that town; so that "if they were compelled to march eastwards, to "which they were not inclined, it was to be doubted "they would moulder away so fast, that there would "be little addition of strength by it. Whereas if "they marched westward, it would be no hard mat-"ter to gather up those who were returned, and to "be strong enough in a very short time, by new le-"vies, for any enterprise should be thought reason-"able to be undertaken." To which was added, "that having lost those officers, whom they loved "and feared, and whose reverence restrained their "natural distempers, they were too much inclined "to mutiny; and had expressed a peremptory aver-"sion to the joining, and marching with the king's "army." And the truth is, their humours then[z] were not very gentle and agreeable, as being apt[a] to think that their prowess was not enough recompensed, or valued. For though the king affected to make all possible demonstrations to them, of an ex-

[y] the parliament,] them,
[z] then] *Not in MS.*
[a] as being apt] and apt

traordinary high esteem he had of their wonderful fidelity and courage, yet he was able to procure very little money for them; and they had then, by the discipline under which they had been trained, (which was most regular, and full of that sobriety which promised good fortune,) an honest pride in their own natures, a great disdain of plundering, or supplying themselves by those vile arts, which they grew afterwards less tender to avoid. 1643.

3. "The great number of the king's horse; which "was so brave [b] a body, that when that part of it "which was joined to the Cornish was away, he "should march with at least six thousand horse, "which were as many as would be able to live on "any country within a due distance of quartering.

4. "Lastly, some correspondence with the chief "gentlemen of Dorsetshire, who were ready to join "with any considerable party for the king, and had "some probable hopes, that the small garrisons upon "the coast would not make a tedious resistance."

There was another reason, which was not given, that if both armies had been kneaded into one, prince Maurice could have been but a private colonel: but there were enough besides to satisfy the king to keep them divided; and so he gave order to the earl of Carnarvon to advance towards Dorchester (the chief town in that county, and one of the most [c] malignant in England, where the rebels had a garrison) with the horse and dragoons, and the next day to prince Maurice to march after with the foot and cannon; his majesty keeping with him the marquis of Hertford to attend his own person; for though he

Prince Maurice sent into the west with an army.

[b] brave] glorious

[c] one of the most] the most

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well saw, he should undergo some inconveniences by withdrawing the marquis from that employment, the opinion of the soundness of his religion, and integrity of his justice, rendering him by much the most popular man in those parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the least umbrage and distaste to his lordship, upon whose honour and affection he relied entirely, and would as soon have trusted his crown upon his fidelity, as upon any man's in his three kingdoms, yet he discerned plainly that the prince and the marquis would never agree together; and that there were persons about them, who would foment their indispositions to each other, with any hazard to his service; and concluded, that he should sooner reduce his people by the power of his army, than by the persuasions of his counsel; and that the roughness of the one's nature might prevail more than the lenity and condescension of the other: and therefore he sent the prince on that employment; using all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealousy of his favour from the marquis's mind; his majesty freely and clearly communicating to him all his counsels, and the true grounds of his resolution; and declaring to him, "that he "would make him a gentleman of his bedchamber, "and groom of his stole, and that he would always "have his company and advice about him;" with which the marquis was satisfied, rather because he resolved not to disobey him, than that he was well pleased with the price of the obligations.

And truly many wise and honest men were sorry for the king's election; and though the marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his ease, had superinduced a kind of laziness and inactivity upon his

nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive constitution, nor the great endowments of his mind, (for he was a good scholar, and had a good judgment,) and less to the temper of this time, and the office of a general, insomuch as he often resigned an excellent understanding to those who had a very indifferent one, and followed the advice, and concluded upon the information of those, who had narrower and more vulgar thoughts than suited with his honour, and were not worthy of such a trust; yet they thought the prince's inexperience of the customs and manners of England, and an aversion from considering them, must subject him to the information and advice of worse counsellors than the other, and which would not be so easily controlled: and I am of opinion, that if the prince had waited on his majesty in that army, and never interposed in any command, not purely martial, and the marquis been sent with those forces into the west with the lord Hopton, (who was now to be left at Bristol to intend his health, and to form that new garrison; which was to be a magazine for men, arms, ammunition, and all that was wanted,) and some other steady persons, who might have been assigned to special provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

The next resolution to be taken, was concerning the king's own motion with the other [d] army. There was not a man, who did not think the reducing of Gloucester, a city within little more than twenty miles of Bristol, of mighty importance to the king, if it might be done without a great expense of time,

[d] the other] that

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and loss of men: "It was the only garrison the rebels had between Bristol and Lancashire, on the north part of England; and if it could be recovered, his majesty would have the river of Severn entirely within his command; whereby his garrisons of Worcester, and Shrewsbury, and all those parts, might be supplied from Bristol; and the trade of that city thereby so advanced, that the customs and duty[e] might bring a notable revenue to the king, and the wealth of the city increasing, it might bear the greater burden for the war: a rich and populous county, which hitherto rather yielded conveniences of quarter, than a settled contribution, (that strong garrison holding not only the whole forest division, which is a fourth part of the county of Gloucester, absolutely in obedience, but so alarmed all other parts, that none of the gentry, who for the most part were well affected, durst stay at their own houses,) might be wholly the king's quarters; and by how much it had offended and disquieted the king, more than other counties, by so much the more money might be raised upon them." Besides the general weekly contributions, the yeomanry, who had been most forward and seditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their delinquency at a high price, (and these arguments were fully pressed by the well affected gentry of the county, who had carried themselves honestly, and suffered very much by doing so, and undertook great levies of men, if this work were first done,) there was another argument of no less, if not greater, moment than all the rest: "if Gloucester

[e] duty] duties

" were reduced, there would need no forces to be " left in Wales, and all those soldiers might be then " drawn to the marching army, and the contribu- " tions and other taxes assigned to the payment of " it." Indeed the king would have had a glorious and entire part of his kingdom, to have contended with the rest.

Yet all these motives were not thought worth the engaging his army in a doubtful siege; whilst the parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and consequently allay and compose the distempers, (which, if they did not wholly proceed from, were very much strengthened by, those fears,) and recruit their army; and therefore that it was better to march into some of those counties which were most oppressed by the enemy, and there wait such advantage, as the distraction in and about London would administer, except there could be some probable hope that Gloucester might be got without much delay. And to that purpose there had been secret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected. The governor of that garrison was one colonel Massy, a soldier of fortune, who had, in the late northern expeditions prepared by the king against Scotland, been an officer in the king's army, under the command of colonel [f] William Leg; and, in the beginning of these troubles, had been at York with inclination to serve the king; but finding himself not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten, but the comfort of a good conscience, he went to London, where there was more money,

[f] colonel] *Not in MS.*

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and fewer officers; and was easily made lieutenant colonel to the earl of Stamford; and being quickly found to be a diligent and stout officer, and of no ill parts of conversation to render himself acceptable among the common people, was by his lordship, when he went into the west, left governor of that city of Gloucester[g], where he had behaved himself actively and successfully. There was no reason to despair, that this man (not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made men rave, and frantic in the cause) might not be wrought upon. And Will. Leg, who had the good opinion of most men, and the particular kindness of prince Rupert, had sent a messenger, who was like to pass without suspicion to Gloucester, with such a letter of kindness and overture to Massy, as was proper in such a case from one friend to another. This messenger returned when the king's and the army's motion was under debate, and brought an answer from the governor to colonel Leg[h], in a very high style, and seeming to take it much unkindly, "that he should endeavour "to corrupt him in his honesty and fidelity, and to "persuade him to break a trust, which, to save his "life, he would never do;" with much discourse "of his honour and reputation, which would be "always dear to him." But the messenger said withal, "that, after the governor had given him this "letter, and some sharp reproaches before company, "he was brought again, a back way, to a place "where the governor[i] was by himself; and then he "told him, that it was most necessary he should

[g] of Gloucester] *Not in MS.*

[h] to colonel Leg] *Not in MS.*

[i] the governor] he

" write such an answer as he had done; which was " communicated to those, who else would have been " jealous what such a messenger should come to " him about; but that he should tell Will. Leg, " that he was the same man he had ever been, his " servant; and that he wished the king well; that " he heard prince Rupert meant to bring the army " before that town; if he did, he would defend it as " well as he could; and his highness would find an- " other work than he had at Bristol; but if the " king himself came with his army, and summoned " it, he would not hold it against him: for it would " not stand with his conscience to fight against the " person of the king; besides that in such a case, " he should be able to persuade those of the town; " which otherwise he could not do."

This message turned the scale; for though it might be without purpose of being honest, yet there was no great objection against the king's marching that way with his army; since it would be still in his power to pursue any other counsel, without engaging before it. And it was to some a sign that he meant well, because he had not hanged, or at least imprisoned, the messenger who came to him on such an errand. Hereupon the king resolved for Gloucester, but not to be engaged in a siege; and so sent his army that way; and the next day (having first sent sir Ralph Hopton a warrant to create him baron Hopton of Stratton, in memory of the happy battle fought there) with the remainder of his forces marched towards it. On Wednesday the tenth of August, the king ranged his whole army upon a fair hill, in the clear view of the city, and within less than two miles of it; and then, be-

The king marches towards Gloucester, and summons it, Aug. 10, 1643.

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ing about two of the clock in the afternoon, he sent a trumpet with this summons to the town.

"Out of our tender compassion to our city of "Gloucester, and that it may not receive prejudice "by our army, which we cannot prevent if we be "compelled to assault it, we are personally come "before it to require the same; and are graciously "pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other "persons within that city, as well soldiers as others, "know, that if they shall immediately submit them- "selves, and deliver this our city to us, we are con- "tented, freely and absolutely to pardon every one "of them, without exception; and do assure them, "in the word of a king, that they, nor any of them "shall receive the least damage or prejudice by our "army in their persons or estates; but that we will "appoint such a governor, and a moderate garrison "to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and "security of that city, and that whole county. But "if they shall neglect this proffer of grace and fa- "vour, and compel us, by the power of our army, "to reduce that place, (which, by the help of God, "we doubt not, we shall be easily and shortly able "to do,) they must thank themselves for all the ca- "lamities and miseries must befall them. To this "message we expect a clear and positive answer, "within two hours after the publishing hereof; and "by these presents do give leave to any persons, "safely to repair to and return from us, whom that "city shall desire to employ unto us in that busi- "ness: and do require all the officers and soldiers "of our army, quietly to suffer them to pass ac- "cordingly."

Within less than the time prescribed, together

with the trumpeter returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bad[k] visages, indeed faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad; for it was impossible such ambassadors could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstances of duty, or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, "they had "brought an answer from the godly city of Glou-"cester to the king;" and were so ready to give insolent and seditious answers to any question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the king to violate his own safe conduct. The answer they brought was in writing, in these very words.

August 10*th*, 1643.

The citizens' and garrison's answer.

"We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and "soldiers, within this garrison of Gloucester, unto "his majesty's gracious message return this humble "answer: That we do keep this city, according to "our oaths and allegiance, to and for the use of his "majesty, and his royal posterity: and do accord-"ingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the "commands of his majesty, signified by both houses "of parliament: and are resolved, by God's help, to "keep this city accordingly."

This paper was subscribed by Wise the mayor, and Massy the governor, with thirteen of the aldermen, and most substantial citizens, and eleven officers of the garrison; and as soon as their messengers returned, who were quickly dismissed, without

[k] bad] bald

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attending to see what the king resolved, all the suburbs of the city, in which were very large and fair buildings, well inhabited, were set on fire; so that there was no doubt, the king was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new debates, and new resolutions; to which men came not so unbiassed, or unswayed, as they had been at Bristol. This indignity and affront to the king prompted thoughts of revenge; and some thought the king so far engaged, that in honour he could not do less than sit down before the town, and force it: and these inclinations gave countenance and credit to all those plausible informations, "of small provisions in the "town, either of victual, or ammunition; that, "where the town was strongest, there was nothing "but an old stone wall, which would fall upon an "easy battery; that there were many well affected "people in the town, who, with those who were in-"censed by the burning of the suburbs, and the "great losses they must sustain thereby, would "make such a party, that as soon as they were dis-"tressed, the seditious party would be forced to "yield." It was alleged, "that the enemy had no "army; nor, by all intelligence, was like to form "any soon enough to be able to relieve it; and if "they had an army, that it was much better for "his majesty to force them to that distance from "London, and to fight there, where he could be "supplied with whatsoever he wanted, could choose "his own ground, where his brave body of horse "would be able to defeat any army they could "raise, than to seek them in their own quarters."

Above all, the confidence of the soldiers of the

best experience moved his majesty; who upon riding about the town, and taking a near view of it, were clear of opinion, that they should be able in less than ten days by approach, for all thoughts of storming were laid aside upon the loss at Bristol, to win it. This produced a resolution in his majesty, not one man in the council of war dissuading it. So[1] the king presently sent to Oxford for his general the earl of Brentford "to come to him, with all "the foot that could be spared out of that garrison, "and his pieces of battery, to govern[m] that ac-"tion:" prince Rupert wisely declining that province, and retiring himself into the generalship of the horse, that he might not be thought accountable for any accidents which should attend that service. At the same instant, orders were despatched to sir William Vavasour, who commanded all the forces in South Wales, (the lord Herbert having been persuaded so far to comply with the indisposition of that people, as to decline that command, or at least for a time to dissemble it,) "to draw all his "men to the forest side of the town;" where the bridges being broken down, a small strength would keep them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the king was engaged before Gloucester; and thereby gave respite to the distracted spirits at London, to breathe, and compose themselves; and, more methodically than they had hoped to have done, to prepare for their preservation, and accomplishing their own ends; which at that time seemed almost desperate and incurable.

The king besieges the town.

[1] So] And so

[m] to govern] and to govern

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The direful news of the surrender of Bristol, which was brought to the two houses on the 31st of July, struck them to the heart, and came upon them as a sentence of death, after a vast consumption of money, and confident promises of destroying all the king's forces by a day, every tax and imposition being declared to be the last; and for finishing the work, the earl of Essex was at the same time returned to Kingston, within ten[n] miles of them, with his broken and dismayed troops, which himself would not endure should have the title of an army. So that the war seemed to be even at an end in a sense very contrary to what they had undertaken; their general talking more, and pressing for reparation, and vindication of his honour from imputations and aspersions, than for a recruit of forces, or providing an army to defend them. Every man reproached his neighbour with his want of inclination[o] to peace, when good conditions might be had, and magnified his own wisdom, for having feared "it would come to this." The king's last declaration had been read by all men, and was magnified "as a most gracious and undeniable instance of his "clemency and justice, that he was so far from be-"ing elated with his good successes, and power al-"most to have what he would, that he renewed all "those promises, and protestations for the religion, "laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and privileges "of parliament; which had been out of their per-"verseness discredited before, as proceeding from "the low condition he was in; and whereas they "had been frighted with their representation of

[n] ten] eight

[o] want of inclination] disinclination

"their own guilt, and the implacableness of the "king's nature, as if he meant an utter conquest of "them, his majesty had now offered all that could be "honestly desired, and had expressed himself a prince "not delighted with blood and revenge, but an in- "dulgent father to the most disobedient children." In this reformation of understanding, the lords in their house debated nothing but expedients for peace: there were not of that body above five, at the most, who had any inclination to continue the war; and the earl of Essex had sufficiently declared, "that he was weary of it," and held closest and strictest correspondence with those who most passionately pressed an accommodation. So that, on the fifth of August, they desired a conference with the commons; and declared to them, "that they "were resolved to send propositions to the king, "and they hoped, they would concur in them:" the particulars proposed by them were,

Propositions for peace given by the house of lords to the house of commons in a conference.

1. "That both armies might be presently dis- "banded, and his majesty be entreated to return to "his parliament, upon such security as should give "*him satisfaction.*

2. "*That religion might be settled with the ad-* "vice of a synod of divines, in such a manner as his "majesty, with the consent of both houses of parlia- "ment, should appoint.

3. "That the militia, both by sea and land, might "be settled by a bill; and the militia, forts, and "ships of the kingdom, put into such hands as the "king should appoint, with the approbation of both "houses of parliament: and his majesty's revenue "to be absolutely and wholly restored unto him; "only deducting such part, as had been of necessity

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" expended for the maintenance of his children, and " not otherwise.

4. " That all the members of both houses who " had been expelled only for absenting themselves, " or mere compliance with his majesty, and no other " matter of fact against them, might be restored to " their places.

5. " That all delinquents, from before the tenth " day of January 1641, should be delivered up to " the justice of parliament, and a general pardon for " all others on both sides.

6. And lastly, " That there might be an act of " oblivion, for all by-gone deeds, and acts of hos- " tility."

When this conference was reported in the house of commons, it begot a wonderful long and a hot debate, which lasted till ten of the clock that night, and continued a day or two more; the violent party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate constitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhorred their proceedings, though out of fear, and indisposition of health, or not knowing else well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiously against the design itself of sending to the king at all, and therefore would not have the particular propositions so much as considered: " They had re- " ceived much prejudice by the last treaty at Ox- " ford, and therefore must undergo more [p] now their " condition was much lower: the king had since " that, upon the matter, declared them to be no par- " liament; for if they were not free, they could not " be a parliament; so that till that point were vin-

[p] more] much more

" dicated, they could not treat in any safe capacity, " but would be looked upon under the notion of " rebels, as his majesty had declared them. They " had sent members into Scotland to require assist- " ance, which that kingdom was preparing with all " brotherly affection and forwardness; and after " such a discovery, to treat for peace, without the " privity of the Scots, [q] was to betray them; and to " forfeit all hopes hereafter of relief from thence, " what necessities soever they might be reduced to. " That the city of London had expressed all ima- " ginable readiness to raise forces for sir William " Waller; and the counties near London were ready " to rise as one man, whereby the earl of Essex " would be speedily enabled to march, with a better " army than ever he had, to give the king battle, " except this discourse of peace did extinguish the " zeal that was then flaming in the hearts of the " people."

But notwithstanding these reasons, and the passion in the delivery, the terror of the king's successes suggested answers enough. " They had been pu- " nished for breaking off the treaty of Oxford, when " they might have had better terms than now they " could expect; and if they omitted this opportunity, " they should fare much worse; that they were not " sure of aid from Scotland, neither was it almost " possible it should come time enough to preserve " them from the ruin at hand. And for the city of " London, though the common and meaner sort of " people, who might promise themselves advantage

[q] the privity of the Scots,] their privity,

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" by it, desired the continuance of the distractions, " yet it was evident the most substantial and rich " men desired peace, by their refusal to supply " money for the carrying on the war; and if they " should judge of the common people by their for- " wardness to engage their own persons, they had " reason to believe they had no mind to the war " neither; for their general was forced to retire even " under their own walls, for want of men to recruit " his army. However, the sending reasonable pro- " positions to the king would either procure a peace, " and so they should have no more need of an army; " or, being refused, would raise more men and money, " than all their ordinances without it." These reasons and arguments prevailed; and after the debate had lasted till ten of the clock at night, it was resolved upon the question, and carried by nine and twenty voices, " That they should insist upon the " propositions, and send to his majesty."

And without doubt, if they had then sent, (as, if the power had been in the two houses of parliament, they had done,) a firm peace had immediately ensued: for besides that if a treaty and cessation had been in that conjuncture entered upon, no extravagant demand would have been pressed, only a security for those who had been faulty, which the king would gladly have granted, and most religiously observed; the fourth proposition, and consent to restore all members to their places in parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more fire in those houses. But this was too well known to be suffered to pass; and therefore the next day, being Sunday, the seditious preachers filled all the pulpits with

alarms of "ruin and destruction to the city, if a "peace were now offered to the king;" and printed papers were scattered through the streets, and fixed upon gates, posts, and the most public places in the city and suburbs, requiring "all persons well affected "to rise as one man, and to come to the house of "commons next morning; for that twenty thousand "Irish rebels were landed;" which information was likewise given that day in many pulpits by their preachers; and in other papers likewise set up, it was declared, "that the malignant party had over-"voted the good, and, if not prevented, there would "be a peace."

When the minds of the people were thus prepared, Pennington, their own lord mayor, though on Sunday, (on which they before complained the king used to sit in council,) called a common council; where a petition was framed to the house of commons, taking notice "of propositions passed by the "house of peers for peace, which if consented to, "and allowed, would be destructive to religion, "laws, and liberties; and therefore desired that "house to pass an ordinance, according to the tenor "of an act of their common council," (which they appointed to be annexed to their petition,) "which "was for the vigorous prosecuting the war, and de-"clining all thoughts of accommodation." With this petition, and such an attendance as those preparatives were like to bring, the lord mayor himself, who, from the time of his mayoralty, had forborne sitting in the house as a member, came to the house of commons, and delivered it, with such farther insinuations of the temper of the city, as were fit for the purpose; the people at the door behaving them-

A petition of the common council of London against peace;

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selves as imperiously, telling[r] the members of both houses, as they passed by them, "that if they had "not a good answer, they would be there the next "day with double the number." The lords complained of the tumults, and sent to the commons to join with them in their suppression; instead whereof the commons (many of their body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the city thanks "for their "petition, advice, and courage;" and rejected the propositions for peace.

whereupon the house of commons rejected the propositions of the lords.

This raised a new contest in the city, which was not willing to lie under the perpetual brand of resisting and opposing peace, as they did of first raising the war. And therefore the wise and sober part of it would gladly have discovered how averse they were from the late act of the common council. But the late execution of Tomkins and Chaloner, and the advantage which was presently taken against any man who was moderately inclined, frighted all men from appearing in person to desire those things upon which their hearts were most set. In the end, the women expressed greater courage than the men; and having a precedent of a rabble of that sex, appearing in the beginning of these distractions with a petition to the house of commons, to foment the divisions, with acceptance and approbation, a great multitude of the wives of substantial citizens came to the house of commons with a petition for peace. Thereupon a troop of horse, under the command of one Harvey, a decayed silkman, who from the beginning had been one most confided in, were sent

[r] telling] and telling

for; who behaved themselves with such inhumanity, that they charged among the silly women, as an enemy worthy of their courage, and killed and wounded many of them, and easily dispersed the rest. When they were by this means secured from farther vexation of this kind, special notice was taken of those members who seemed most importunate, and desirous of peace, that some advantage might be taken against them. Whereupon, they well discerning the danger they were in, many both of the peers and the commons first absented themselves from the houses, and then removed into those quarters where they might enjoy the protection of the king; and some of them came directly to Oxford.

Having diverted this torrent, which would have brought peace upon them before they were aware, they considered their strength, and applied themselves to the recovery of the spirits of their general; whose indisposition troubled them more than any other distress they were in. To this cure they applied remedies of contrary natures, which would yet work to the same end. First they caressed sir William Waller with wonderful kindness and esteem; and as he was met upon his return to London, after the most total defeat that could almost be imagined, (for though few of his horse were killed upon the place, they were so ruinously dispersed, that of above two thousand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their service,) with all the trained bands and militia of London, and received as if he had brought the king prisoner with him; so he was immediately chosen governor and commander in chief of the forces and militia of London, for the de-

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fence of the city; and it was now declared, "that "they would forthwith supply him with a good "body of horse and foot, to take the field again, and "relieve their distressed friends in the west." Then another ordinance was passed to raise a great[s] army, under the command of the earl of Manchester, (who had been always steady to his first principles, and never a friend to any overture of accommodation,) in order to opposing the earl of Newcastle, and to take charge of all the associated counties; which were Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntington, and (by a new addition) Lincoln; and for the speedy raising men to join to those who would voluntarily list themselves under these two beloved generals, there was an ordinance passed both houses for the pressing of men; which seemed somewhat to discredit their cause, that, after so much pretence to the hearts of the people, they should be now compelled to fight, whether they would or no; and was the more wondered at, because they had themselves procured the king's consent to an act this parliament, that declared it to be unlawful to press, or compel any of the freeborn subjects to march out of the county in which they lived, if he were not willing so to do; and direction was given by other ordinances to press great numbers of men, to serve both under the earl of Manchester and sir William Waller; and having thus provided for the worst, and let the earl of Essex discern, that they had another earl to trust to, and more generals than one at their devotion, they sent a formal committee of both houses to him, to use all imaginable art, and applica-

An ordinance for raising an army under the earl of Manchester.

[s] great] vast

tion to him, to recover him to his former vigour, and zeal in their cause. They told him "the high value "the houses had of the service he had done, and the "hazards, dangers, and losses he had for their sakes "undergone: that he should receive as ample a vin- "dication for the calumnies and aspersions raised on "him, as he could desire, from the full testimony "and confidence of the two houses; and if the in- "famous authors of them could be found, their pu- "nishment should be as notorious as their libels: "that no other forces should be recruited till his "were made up; and that all his soldiers' arrears "should be paid, and clothes presently sent for his "foot."

Whether these reasons, with the jealousy of the earl of Manchester, upon whom he plainly saw the violent party wholly depended, or the infusions poured into him by the lord Say and Mr. Pym, of the desperateness of his own condition, with an opinion, upon[t] the differences between the two princes and the marquis of Hertford, that the marquis's services were not enough valued by the king, (which many desired should be thought to have then some influence upon the earl,) or whether he had not steadiness[u] enough to engage in so hazardous an enterprise, he grew insensibly altered from his moderate inclinations, and desire of peace; for it is most certain, that as the confidence in him gave many lords the spirit to appear champions for peace, who had been before as solicitous against it, so the design was then the same, which hath been since prose-

[t] upon] by the conclusions upon

[u] steadiness] courage

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cuted, with effect, to a worse purpose, that is,[x] for the members of both houses who were of one mind, upon that signal riot, and compelling the house of commons to renounce their former resolution of propositions to the king, to have gone to the earl of Essex, and there, under the security of their own army, to have protested against the violence which was offered, the breach of their privileges by the common council's taking notice of their counsels, and overruling their conclusions, and to have declared their want of freedom: by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the houses to consent to such an agreement as the king would well have approved of; or to have entered upon such a treaty themselves with the king, as all the moderate part of the kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

But this staggering in their general frustrated that design, and put them to other resolutions; and so, having rendered themselves very ungracious in the houses, and possibly suspecting the earl of Essex might discover some of their overtures, many of the lords left the town, and went either directly to Oxford, or into the king's quarters; the earl of Portland, and the lord Lovelace, (of whose good affections to his service the king had always assurance, and who had only stayed there, as at a place where they might do him more service, than any where else,) directly to Oxford; and the lord Conway shortly after them; the earl of Clare into Worcestershire, and from thence, by the king's free accepta-

[x] that is,] *Not in MS.*

tion, to Oxford; there being no other objection against his lordship, than his staying so long at London;[y] but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the court, rendered him to his majesty's opinion under a very good character. The earls of Bedford and Holland, not without some difficulty, their purpose being discovered or suspected, got into the king's garrison at Wallingford, from whence the governor gave advertisement of their arrival; the earl of Northumberland, with the leave of the house, retired for his health to his house at Petworth in Sussex; which though it was in a county entirely then at the parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infested from some of the king's quarters, if he had not some assurance of being safe there.

The earls of Bedford and Holland put themselves into the king's quarters, as likewise some other of the parliament lords.

The violent party carried now all before them, and were well contented with the absence of those who used to give them some trouble and vexation. For the better strengthening themselves with the people, they ordered the divines of the assembly to repair into the country to their cures, especially in the counties of the association under the earl of Manchester, to stir up the people, with all their eloquence, to rise as one man against their sovereign; and omitted nothing within their power, which might contribute to the raising men or money; being not a little joyed, when they understood the king had given them more time than they expected, to compose all disorders and divisions among themselves, by his staying with his army before Gloucester; which they took to be the greater blessing,[z]

[y] at London;] amongst them;

[z] which they took to be the greater blessing,] which was the greater blessing,

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and preservation to them, because at the same time there were sudden insurrections in Kent against their ordinances and jurisdiction, in defence of the known laws, and especially of the Book of Common Prayer; which, if the king's army had been at any distance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to suppress.

The fame of all these distractions and disorders at London exceedingly disposed men in all places to reproach his majesty's stay before Gloucester; his friends at London desiring that his majesty should march directly thither, to take the advantage of those distractions; and the lords of the council at Oxford, upon the intelligence and advice from thence, were very solicitous that the king would take that resolution, to which he was himself enough inclined. But his condition was believed to be, in both places, better than it was; and that he had now a victorious army, without an enemy to restrain his motion: whereas, in truth, his was a weak army, [a] lessened exceedingly by the losses it sustained before Bristol; and when that part of it was [b] marched with prince Maurice into the west, and which could not have marched any other way, the king had not much above six thousand foot to march with, though he left none at Bristol, but obliged my lord [c] Hopton to garrison it as he could, which he shortly did; and that would have appeared a very small army to have marched towards London; though it is true the horse was a noble body, and superior in number to that of the foot. [d]

[a] his was a weak army,] it was a miserable army,

[b] was] that was

[c] my lord] the lord

[d] of the foot.] *The following portion is here omitted:* On the

There was likewise another circumstance, that few men were then acquainted with: upon the first news of the taking of Bristol, his majesty, before he left Oxford, had sent an express to the earl of New-

other side, the parliament had a garrison in Gloucester, the only place possessed by them on the Severn, (for the taking of Bristol had reduced Chepstow, and secured for the most part all South Wales;) and if that were recovered to the king's obedience, his majesty's quarters would extend from Bristol to Chester, and bring all the countries between into contribution and subjection, which was a noble quantity of ground; Wales would be entire at the king's devotion; and his army would receive a very great addition by a body of three thousand men, horse and foot, which were commanded by Vavasour, under lord Herbert on the Welsh side, to block up Gloucester from annoying that country, and would all march with the king, if that place were recovered; whereas they could not be drawn from thence whilst that garrison remained, and which, as soon as the king was marched from Bristol, would be a thorn in the sides of Gloucestershire and Wales, and would hinder all levies and contributions in those countries, and much hinder the settlement of Bristol itself. Gloucester was at that time under the government of colonel Massey, a soldier of fortune, and a very active and vigilant officer. He had been sometimes an officer under the command of Will. Leg, who was then major to prince Rupert, and of near trust about him. After the taking of Bristol, he had, with the king's privity, written a letter to him, and received such an answer that was interpreted to give encouragement to the king's army to march thither, and as if the king's presence would have opened the ports of the town; though it appeared afterwards that it was craftily and maliciously written to amuse the king. However the town itself was no otherwise fortified than by an old high stone wall and a dry ditch, there being likewise a fair and well built suburbs without the town. There did not appear, when the king consulted it at Bristol, any difference of opinion against the king's marching thither with his army; and it was resolved that if he found, when he came there, that a summons would not put the town into his hands, he might march on towards any other designs.

There was likewise another circumstance that favoured this resolution, which was some good success the earl of Newcastle had obtained in Yorkshire, which had broken all the parliament forces, and driven them into Hull, and much increased his own, with which he made little doubt in a short time to be master of that important place. Upon the first news, &c. *as above, line* 2.

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castle, who was then engaged before Hull; "that if "he found the business of Hull to be more diffi- "cult than he expected, he should leave it blocked "up at a distance, which might restrain excursions "into the country, and march with his army into the "associated counties;" which comprehended Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Essex, &c.[e] which had associated themselves, by some agreement, to serve the parliament; though the better part of all those counties, especially of the two greater, were most affected to the king, and wished for an opportunity to express it; and if the earl would bring his army through those counties towards London, his majesty would then resolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other side. And in the very time that his majesty came before Gloucester, and before he took the resolution to sit down before it, that express returned from the earl of Newcastle, who informed him, "that it was impossible for him to comply with "his commands, in marching with his army into the "associated counties, for that the gentlemen of the "country, who had the best regiments, and were "among the best officers, utterly refused to march, "except Hull were first taken; and that he had not "strength enough to march and to leave Hull se- "curely blocked up:" which advertisement, with the consideration before mentioned, of the enlarging his quarters by the taking of Gloucester, and the concurrence of all the officers, that it would speedily be taken, produced that resolution of attempting it, notwithstanding that the queen herself writ so importunately against it, that his majesty thought it ne-

[e] &c.] *Not in MS.*

cessary to make a journey himself to Oxford, to convince her majesty, and to compose some distempers which were risen among his council there, upon the news of the arrival of some of the lords mentioned before in those quarters.

The king was newly set down before Gloucester, when the governor of Wallingford sent notice to Oxford, of the arrival of those two earls; to whom the lords of the council returned direction, "that "they should stay there, till the king's pleasure was "understood;" to whom the secretary had sent the information, and desired his majesty's will concerning their reception. The king well knew, any order he should give in it would be liable to many objections, and he had not so good an inclination to either of them, as to run any inconvenience for their sakes; the earl of Bedford having served in person against him, as the general of the rebels' horse; and the earl of Holland, in the king's opinion, having done worse. And therefore his majesty commanded, "that his "privy-council should debate the matter among "themselves, and present their opinion and advice "to him; and he would then determine what kind "of entertainment they should have." The opinions at the board were several; some thought, "that his "majesty should receive them very graciously, and "with all outward expressions of his acceptance of "their return to his service; and that the demeanour "of all others to them should be such, as might "make them think themselves very welcome, without the least taking notice of any thing formerly "done amiss by them; which would be a great encouragement to others to come away too: so that "the numbers and quality of those who stayed be-

Debates in the council at Oxford how those lords should be received.

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" hind would probably in a short time be so small, " that they would have no reputation in the king- " dom to continue the war." Many differed diametrically from this; and were so far from thinking this advice agreeable to the dignity or security of the king, that they thought it not fit " to admit " them presently to the king's or queen's presence, " till, by their good carriage and demeanour, they " should give some testimony of their affections: " they had both taken the late covenant, of which " one clause was, to assist the forces raised by the " parliament, against the army raised by the king; " with many reproaches, and known scandals upon " that army. If they had felt a true remorse of con- " science for the ill they had done, they would have " left that party, when that covenant was to be im- " posed upon them; which since they did not, that " they came now was to be imputed rather to the " king's success, and the weakness of that power " which they had hitherto served, than to any re- " formation of their understanding, or improvement " of their allegiance: and that it was great reason, " that they who had given such arguments of just " jealousy and suspicion of themselves, should raise " a confidence in their loyalty and affection by some " act equal to the other; and therefore none [f] who " had taken that covenant should be admitted to " the presence of the king, queen, or prince, before " he had taken some other oath or covenant, declar- " ing an equal hatred and abhorring of the rebellious " arms which were taken up against his majesty, " and the counsels by which they were taken up."

[f] none] that none

It was said, "that the good or ill reception of "these lords could have no influence upon the ac- "tions or deliberations at Westminster, or London, "or any considerable persons there: that they were "but single men, without any considerable depend- "ence upon them. Whilst they had reputation and "interest enough to do good or hurt, and the king's "condition needed their attendance, they chose to "be engaged against him; but now, when they "were able to do him no more harm, they came to "receive benefit and advantage from him: that it "was a common argument men used to allege to "themselves for their compliance with, and sub- "mission to, the commands of the parliament; that, "if they did otherwise, their severity and rigour "was so great, that they and their families were "sure to be ruined; but, if the king prevailed, he "was gracious and merciful, and would remit their "offences whensoever they cast themselves at his "feet; which presumption if they should see con- "firmed in this example, it would make the observa- "tion of conscience and loyalty of no price, and en- "courage those who were risen against him, and "exceedingly dishearten those who had been honest "and faithful from the beginning: that there could "ensue no inconvenience from any reservedness and "coldness towards them; for they durst not return "to London, having now made themselves odious to "that party, and having[g] no hope but from the ac- "ceptance of his majesty; which they should merit "before they found." There was a third opinion between these extremes, "that they should be nei-

[g] having] had

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" ther courted nor neglected, but be admitted to kiss " the king's and queen's hands, and to dispose them- " selves as they thought fit; and so to leave the rest " to their future demeanour :" [h] and to resolve which of these opinions to follow, was another motive for his majesty's sudden journey to Oxford. [h]

The king comes to Oxford to consult about it.

The king found greater alterations in the minds and spirits at Oxford, than he expected after so much [i] success as had befallen him; and that success was it, that had made the alteration; it being the unlucky temper of that place, and that company, to be the soonest and the most desperately cast down upon any misfortune or loss, and to be again, upon any victory, the most elated, and the most apt to undervalue any difficulties which remained. The taking Bristol had so possessed them with joy, that they thought the war even at an end, and that there was nothing left to be done, but to take possession of London; which they were assured would be delivered to them upon demand. Many members of both houses were come to Oxford, which assured them, " the violent people there were even in de- " spair; and after the news came of the surrender of

[h] and to resolve—to Oxford.] *These words are written in the margin by lord Clarendon; the following short paragraph being omitted, and a more minute account of the debate in the council inserted in its stead from MS. B.* The king followed the last opinion; and so they came to Oxford, and were admitted to kiss the queen's hands, and shortly after went to the leaguer before Gloucester, and were in the same manner received by the king: all which I have remembered the more particularly, that it may appear whatsoever was done in that point to have been deliberated; yet truly I conceive it was one of the greatest, if not the only omission on the king's part of any expedient, during the whole distractions, which might reasonably have been depended on, to promote or contribute towards a fair accommodation, upon which we shall have occasion anon to say more.

[i] much] much great

"Bristol, that they had only kept up their spirits in "hopes[k] that the king would engage his army in "the siege of Gloucester, which some of them had "seemed to promise their friends would be the "case:" from whence they would infer, "that the "king was betrayed, and that they who had per- "suaded him to undertake that design were cor- "rupted by the parliament." And the envy and jealousy of all this fell upon sir John Colepepper, who was indeed of the opinion for the siege, but, without doubt, how much soever he suffered at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believed there was very good reason for that engagement, and was most free from any corrupt end, and of most sincere fidelity. 1643.

This discourse and imagination had made wonderful impression upon the queen; who was inflamed with a jealousy that there was a design to lessen her interest in the king, and that prince Rupert was chief in that conspiracy, and meant to bring it to pass by keeping the king still in the army, and by hindering his coming to Oxford: and out of this apprehension the queen had written so warmly and concernedly to the king, who was the most incapable of any such apprehensions, and had her majesty in so perfect an adoration, that as soon as he received that letter, without delay he came to Oxford, and quickly composed those mistakes; though the being engaged before Gloucester was still very grievous, and reproaches were publicly cast upon those who gave the advice.

But that which took up most of the time of that

[k] in hopes] *Omitted in MS.*

BOOK VII. 1643.

one day that the king stayed at Oxford, was concerning the two lords who were retained at Wallingford; which had been agitated in the council with great passion before the king's coming. The king caused the council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, "whether the earls of Bedford "and of Holland should be admitted to come into "Oxford, or obliged to return from whence they "came? or, if admitted, how they should be re-"ceived, or countenanced by their majesties?" And it cannot be enough wondered at, that there should be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot be expressed, with how much earnestness and unreasonableness the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates still expressed all moderation and temper, did now oppose the receiving these lords with any grace, with more passion, and other reasons, than had been offered in their former conferences; so that there was scarce known such an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where disunion was very inconvenient.

All exaggerated "the carriage and foul ingrati-"tude of the earl of Holland, from the beginning of "the parliament; and the earl of Bedford's being "general of the horse in the earl of Essex's army; "and now when the parliament was low, and they "had lost their credit and interest there, they "were come to the king, whom they had so much "offended; and expected to be as much, it may "be, more made of, than they who had borne "the heat of the day; which would so much reflect "upon the king's honour, that men would be ex-"ceedingly discouraged to serve him." Some moved,

" that they might be detained, and kept prisoners of " war, since they came into the king's quarters without any pass;" others as plainly and more vehemently pressed, " that they might not be suffered to " come to Oxford, or where the king or queen should " be; but permitted to live in some other place " within the king's quarters, until they should manifest their affections by some service." They who thought this too severe and unpolitic, proposed " that they might be suffered to come to Oxford, " that thereby they might be kept from returning to " the parliament," (which appeared to most to be liable to many exceptions,) " but that being at Ox- " ford, they should not come to court; and that no " privy-counsellor should visit them."

In this whole debate, the chancellor of the exchequer, who seldom spoke without some earnestness, was the only man (except another, who brought no credit to the opinion, the lord Savile) who advised confidently, " that they might be very gra- " ciously received by both their majesties, and civilly " be visited and treated by every body; that other " men might, by the entertainment they received, " be encouraged to desert the parliament too." He said, " it would be too great a disadvantage to the " king, and to his cause, that whilst the parliament " used all the industry and artifices, to corrupt the " duty and affection of the subject, and had their " arms open to receive and embrace all, who would " come to them, his majesty should admit none to " return to him, who had been faulty, or not come " so soon as they ought to have done; that if the " king had a mind to gratify and oblige the parlia- " ment, he could not do it more to their hearts' de-

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"sire, than by rejecting the application of these "lords, or suffering it to pass unregarded." There was one argument against their admission urged very loudly, "that it would disturb the peace of the "place;" the earl of Bedford had commanded that part of the army, which infested the marquis of Hertford, at his being at Sherborne, when the marquis had sent Harry Seymour, as is mentioned before, with a challenge to the earl to fight with him; which the earl reasonably declined at that time; and said, "he would be ready, when the business of "the parliament should be over, to wait upon the "marquis when he should require it." And some men, who were near enough to the marquis's counsels, undertook to know, that if the earl of Bedford should be in Oxford, the marquis, who was every day expected, would exact the performance of his promise; which sure he was too wise to do.

The king, during the whole debate, did not express any thing of his own sense, save that he seemed well pleased with any sharpness that was expressed towards the earl of Holland. He said, "that he "was bound to his good behaviour, by being under "the common reproach of inclining too much to "those who had used him worst; of which he would "not be guilty:" however, he did not think, at this time, that it would be good to make any persons desperate; and therefore gave order, "that the go- "vernor of Wallingford should permit them to con- "tinue their journey to Oxford; where all men "might use what civilities they pleased to them; "and that himself and the queen would do that to- "wards them, which, upon their application and ad- "dress, they should think fit:" and though this de-

termination was given, without the least discovery of grace towards the persons of those lords, and not without some reflections of prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the table; which was evident enough by their countenance. The next morning the king returned to the army. BOOK VII. 1643.

There had been, as is said, very great divisions in the counsels at Westminster, from the time of the treaty, and the very abrupt breaking of it; and the earl of Northumberland, resenting the affront done to him by Martin, had increased those divisions; and the ill successes afterwards in the defeat of Waller, and the taking of Bristol, had given every man courage to say what he would. And then the proceeding upon Mr. Waller's discovery, and obliging all men to take a desperate engagement, which they durst not refuse, for fear of being declared guilty of the plot, as many of them were, incensed very many: but above all, the prosperity of the king's affairs made every body wish to come into his quarters. A great number of the house of commons, who were known always to wish well, came to Oxford: and of the peers, the earl of Portland, who was always very faithful to the king, and had stayed in the house of peers by his majesty's leave, and had been accused by Mr. Waller to be privy to that design, upon which he had endured a long imprisonment, came at this time to Oxford, as is said before,[1] together with the lord Conway, and the lord Lovelace; the former of which had been likewise questioned, and imprisoned, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of constant duty to the

[1] as is said before,] *Not in MS.*

BOOK VII. 1643.

king; and all three had gotten liberty and opportunity to come away by swallowing that vow, and oath, which could only set them free, and which they made haste to answer for to the king. The return of the earl of Essex to London in ill humour, had given opportunity to the earl of Holland, and the rest, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to resentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealousies which were entertained of him. The earl of Bedford had given up his commission of general of the horse, and quitted the service, and never had any affection to their ways, in his judgment [m]. The earl of Clare had been with the king at York, and had his leave to return to London, to intend his own particular affairs; and, during his stay, had never concurred in any malicious counsel against the king, but was looked upon as a man, not only firm to the principles of monarchy, but of duty to the person of the king. He was a man of honour, and of courage, and would have been an excellent person, if his heart had not been set too much upon the keeping and improving his estate; he was weary of the company he kept, and easily hearkened to the earl of Holland, in any consultation how to recover the king's authority, and to put an end to the war. The earl of Essex was, as is said before, enough provoked, and incensed, and willingly heard all the lords, and others, who inveighed against the violent proceedings of those who swayed the parliament, and differed not with them in his judgment of the men, and the matter: so that they believed that he would as readily

[m] judgment] *MS. adds:* which was not great.

be disposed to agree upon the remedy, as he did upon the disease. BOOK VII. 1643.

Their end and design was, as I said,[n] if they could draw him to a concurrence, that they, and all the rest of those who were accounted moderate men, that is who desired a peace, and to return to their duty to the king, (which were[o] much the major part of both houses that remained at Westminster, after so many of both were gone to the king,) might all go to the army; and thereupon the general, and they, to write to the parliament together, and to send such propositions to them, as the parliament should transmit to the king, as the conditions of peace. If the king should refuse to consent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all people to compel him to it: but if the parliament would refuse to transmit those propositions to the king, or to consent to a peace upon those conditions, they would then declare against them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the war was first begun, and would join themselves to the king to force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the authority and credit of the earl of Essex was not yet eclipsed, and before an independent army was raised, which was shortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the success desired. But the earl was too scrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a trust; and this was too barefaced a separation for him to engage in: besides that he did believe, that he should be able to suppress that violent party by the parliament itself, and he thought that would bring all about which he desired; and so

[n] as I said,] *Not in MS.*

[o] were] was

BOOK VII. 1643. he did not only reject what was proposed to him, but expressed such a dislike of the earl of Holland for proposing it, that he thought it high time to get himself out of his reach. The earl of Holland, who always considered himself in the first place, had, from the time of the queen's landing, privately made offer of his service to the queen, and renewed his old confidence and friendship with Mr. Jermyn; and knowing well to enhance the value of his own service, made great promises of notable service; and Mr. Jermyn easily persuaded her majesty, "that it was "much better for her to restore an old servant, whom "she knew so well, to her confidence, (though he "had stepped out of the way,) than to rely upon "the fidelity of any of those who were now about "the king, and who were all upon the matter "strangers to her, at least not enough known by "her;" and then, "that, by laying hold upon this "opportunity, she would, at her first coming to the "king, carry his restoration with her, possess her-"self of the whole frame of his business, because all "other designs would be laid aside; and so all the "good, that[p] would redound to the king and king-"dom from this new negociation, must, by the con-"sent of all the world, be attributed to her majesty's "wisdom and conduct." This[q] appearing hopeful to her majesty, and all that had any thing of hope was by the other always looked upon as certain, the correspondence was embraced; and the earl assured not only to be restored to his former station in all respects, but to a title to new interests.[r] And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found

[p] that] which [q] This] And this [r] interests.] interest.

he could not prevail with the earl of Essex, that the king's affairs prospered, and that Bristol was now taken, and the queen come to Oxford, he resolved himself to go thither, and prevailed with the earls of Bedford and Clare to do the like; he assuring them, that they should be very well received. The earl of Clare made his journey by himself, out of the common road, and came without any interruption into Oxford, at the time appointed: the earls of Bedford and Holland came together to Wallingford, as is mentioned. The earl of Northumberland, who was naturally suspicious, went to his own house at Petworth in Sussex; by which he thought he shewed aversion enough to the counsels at Westminster, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other lords at Oxford was not answerable to their expectation; besides that he would expect the result of the lord Conway's negociation, who was more trusted by him than any other.

The leave for the two earls to come from Wallingford to Oxford, was declared but the night before the king returned to the army; and was not sent thither till the next day. So that the lords came not to Oxford till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to spend at Wallingford, and with the disputation they heard had been held concerning them; of which they had received so particular information, that the earl of Holland writ a very civil letter to the chancellor of the exchequer[s] before he came to Oxford, taking notice of "the affection he had shewed to him in

[s] of the exchequer] *Not in MS.*

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" his advice to the king." Both of them had friends enough there to provide for their accommodation in convenient lodgings: so that the one had a lodging at Magdalen college in Oxford, of which house he had formerly been a member; the other lay in Balliol college, where he had a daughter, who spared him part of her lodgings. But for any application to them by the lords, or persons in authority there, they had no reason to think themselves very welcome. They went, in the first place, to do their duties to the queen; who received them coldly enough, not out of disinclination, or unwillingness[t] to shew them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humour of the town, which she detested: nor did Mr. Jermyn, who still valued himself upon the impossible faculty to please all, and displease none, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point, (having, probably,[u] said more in his letters of correspondence and advice, than he had authority to do; it being his custom to write and speak what was most grateful to the persons;) so that the earl of Holland, with whom alone the correspondence had been, began to think himself betrayed, and invited to Oxford only to be exposed to contempt. He came one morning to visit the chancellor of the exchequer, when there were the lord Cottington, and two or three other privy-counsellors with him, who all went presently away, without so much as saluting him: which offended the chancellor as much as it did him, and in truth obliged the chancellor[x] to more ceremony and civility, than, it

[t] unwillingness] willingness enough

[u] probably,] no doubt,

[x] the chancellor] him

may be, he would otherwise have practised; so that[y] he did visit him again, and made[z] all professions and offers of kindness and service to him; which he did very heartily; and complied therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with his judgment, as very important to the king's service; and did all he could to induce others to be of the same opinion; in which he had no great success.

The intelligence from London brought, every day, the resolution of the parliament, "to relieve Glou-"cester;" and that, if their levies did not supply them with men soon enough, the trained bands of the city would march out with the general for that service; whereupon the three earls, Bedford, Holland, and Clare, after some days stay in Oxford, thought it necessary to offer their service to the king in the army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an engagement between the armies; and so went together to Gloucester; where the king received them without any disrespect, and spoke with them as they gave him occasion.

The king's affairs in the west.

Whilst the king continued before Gloucester, his forces in the west moved with a full gale and tide of success. The earl of Carnarvon marched with the horse and dragoons, being near two thousand, into Dorsetshire, two days before prince Maurice moved with his foot and cannon from Bristol, and had made a fair entrance upon the reduction of that whole county, before his highness overtook him; and it was thought then, that, if the prince had marched more slowly, the earl[a] had perfected that

[y] practised; so that] exercised; and

[z] made] make

[a] the earl] he

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work. Upon the surrender of Bristol, many of the gentlemen, and others of that county, who were engaged in that city for the parliament, had visited their houses and friends, in their journey to London, whither by their safe conduct they went, and had made such prodigious discourses of the fierceness and courage of the cavaliers, (as most men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the enemy which had been too hard for them,) that resisting them begun to be thought a matter impossible. One Mr. Strode, a man much relied on in those parts, and of a good fortune, after he had visited his house, took Dorchester in his way to London, and being desired by the magistrates, "to view "their works and fortifications, and to give his "judgment of them;" after he had walked about them, he told them, "that those works might keep "out the cavaliers about half an hour;" and then told them strange stories of the manner of assaulting Bristol; "and that the king's soldiers made nothing "of running up walls twenty foot high, and that no "works could keep them out;" which he said not out of any purpose to betray them, (for no man wished the king's army worse success,) but had really so much horror and consternation about him, and the dreadful image of the storm of Bristol imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had scaled all those forts and places which were delivered to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the earl of Carnarvon came no sooner near Dorchester with his horse and dragoons, (which, it may be, was understood to be the van of the victorious army which had taken Bristol,) but the town sent com-

missioners to him to treat; and upon articles of indemnity, that they should not be plundered, and not suffer for the ill they had done, delivered up the town, (which was strongly situated, and might very well have been defended by the spirits of these people, if they had courage equal to their malice; for a place more entirely disaffected to the king, England had not,) with all their arms, ammunition, and ordnance. The fame of the earl's coming had before frighted sir Walter Earl, who had for a long time besieged Corfe castle, (the house of the lord chief justice Banks, defended by his lady with her servants, and some few gentlemen, and tenants, who betook themselves thither for her assistance, and their own security,) from that siege; and he making more haste to convey himself to London, than generals use to do, who have the care and charge of others, his forces were presently dispersed. And now the surrender of Dorchester (the magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of rebellion) infused the same spirit into Weymouth, a very convenient harbour and haven: and that example again prevailed on the island and castle of Portland, (a place not enough understood, but of wonderful importance,) to all which the earl granted fair conditions, and received them into his majesty's protection.

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Dorchester surrendered.

Weymouth and Portland surrendered to the king's forces.

Hither prince Maurice came now up with foot[b] and cannon, and neglecting to follow the train of the enemy's fears to Lyme and Poole, the only two garrisons then left in their possession, stayed with his army about Dorchester and Weymouth some

[b] foot] his foot

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days, under the notion of settling and disposing the government of those garrisons. Here the soldiers, taking advantage of the famous malignity of those places, used great licence; neither was there care taken to observe those articles which had been made upon the surrender of the towns; which the earl of Carnarvon, who was full of honour and justice upon all contracts, took so ill, that he quitted the command he had with those forces, and returned to the king before Gloucester; which published the injustice with the more scandal. Whether this licence, which was much spoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, aliened the affections of those parts; or whether the absence of the marquis of Hertford from the army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehension that there would not be much lenity used towards those who had been high and pertinacious offenders; or whether this army, when it was together, seemed less formidable than it was before conceived to be, or that the terror, which had possessed and seized upon their spirits, was so violent that it could not continue, and so men grew less amazed, I know not: but those two small towns, whereof Lyme was believed inconsiderable, returned so peremptory a refusal to the prince's summons, that his highness resolved not to attack them; and so marched to Exeter, where he found all things in better order, and that city more distressed, than he had reason to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of sir John Berkley, who being sent from Wells by the marquis of Hertford, as is before remembered, to govern the affairs of Devonshire, with one regiment of horse, and another of new levied and half-armed foot, had

Prince Maurice comes before Exeter with his army.

so increased his numbers by the concurrence of the gentlemen of that county, that he fixed strong quarters within less than a mile of the city, and kept his guards even to the gates; when the earl of Stamford was within, with a strength at least equal in number to the besiegers.

The parliament commended the relief of this place, by special instructions, to their admiral, the earl of Warwick; after whose having[c] made show of landing men in several places upon the coast, and thereby compelled sir John Berkley to make quick and wearisome marches with horse and dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the fleet left those who attended their landing about Totness, turned about, and with a fresh gale made towards the river, that leads to the walls of Exeter; and having the command of both sides of the river, upon a flat, by their cannon, the earl presumed that way he should be able to send relief into the city: but the diligence[d] and providence of sir John Berkley had fortunately cast up some slight works upon the advantageous nooks of the river, in which his men might be in some security from the cannon of the ships; and made great haste with his horse to hinder their landing; and so this attempt was not only without success, but so unfortunate, that it discouraged the seamen from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great shot, from their ships, upon the land forces, the tide falling, the earl of Warwick fell off with his fleet, leaving three ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the land, in

The earl of Warwick with his fleet attempts the relief of it, but succeeds not.

[c] after whose having] who after he had

[d] diligence] admirable diligence

BOOK VII. view of his whole fleet; which no more looked after the relief of Exeter that way.

1643. Whilst[e] all the king's forces were employed in the blocking up the town, and attending the coast, to wait upon the earl of Warwick, the garrison of Plymouth increased very fast, into which the fleet disburdened themselves of all they could spare; and the north parts of Devonshire gathered apace into a head for the parliament; Barnstable and Bediford being garrisoned by them; which having an uninterrupted line of communication with Plymouth, resolved to join their whole strength, and so to compel the enemy to draw off from the walls of Exeter, which had been very easy to have been done, if they in the city had been as active for their own preservation. Sir John Berkley having notice of this preparation and resolution, sent colonel John Digby (who had, from their first entrance into Cornwall, commanded the horse) with his own regiment of horse, and some loose troops of dragoons, into the north of Devon, to hinder the joining of the rebels' forces. He chose Torrington for his quarter, and within few days drew to him a troop of new-raised horse, and a regiment of foot, raised by his old friends in Cornwall; so that he had with him above three hundred horse, and six or seven hundred foot. Those of Bediford and Barnstable, being superior in number, and apprehending that the king's successes eastward might increase his strength and power there, and weaken theirs, resolved to try their fortunes;[f] and joining themselves together, to the number of above twelve hundred foot, and three

[e] Whilst] But whilst

[f] fortunes;] fortune;

hundred horse, under the command of colonel Bennet, hoped to surprise colonel John Digby at Torrington; and he was upon the matter surprised: for albeit he had notice in the night from Barnstable, "that the forces drew out thence to Bediford in the "night, and that they intended to fall on his quar-"ters early in the morning;" and thereupon put[g] himself into a posture to receive them, and drew up all his forces together out of the town, upon such a piece of ground, as, in that enclosed county, could be most advantageous for his horse, having, through all the little enclosure,[h] cut gaps, through which his horse might enter; yet, after he had attended their coming till noon, and heard no more of them, and his small parties, which were sent out to inquire, returned with assurance, that there was no appearance of an enemy, he believed they had given over their design; and so dismissed his horse to their several quarters, reserving only one hundred and fifty upon their guard, and returned himself into the town with the foot.

But,[i] within less than an hour, he received the alarm, "that the enemy was within half a mile of "the town." The confusion was very great, so that he resolved not to draw the foot out of the town; but having placed them in the best manner he could, upon the avenues, himself went to the horse out of the town, resolving to wait upon the rear of the enemy; who were drawn up on the same piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the morning. The colonel, whose courage, and vivacity upon action, was very eminent, and commonly very

[g] put] he put [h] enclosure,] enclosures, [i] But,] And,

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fortunate, intended rather to look upon them, than to engage with them, before his other troops came up; but having divided his small party of horse, the whole consisting but of one hundred and fifty, into several parties, and distributed them into several little closes, out of which there were gaps into the larger ground, upon which the enemy stood, a forlorn hope of fifty musketeers advanced towards that ground where himself was; and if they had [k] recovered the hedge, they would easily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himself, taking four or five officers into the front with him, charged that forlorn hope; which immediately threw down their arms, and run upon their own body, and carried so infectious a fear with them, that without making a stand, or their horse offering once to charge, the whole body routed themselves, and fled; colonel Digby following the execution with his horse, till their swords were blunted with slaughter, and his numbers overburdened with prisoners; though the foot out of the town hastened to the chase, as soon as they saw what terror had possessed their enemies.

Sir John Digby routs the parliament's forces at Torrington.

In this action (for it cannot be called a battle; hardly a skirmish; where no resistance was made) there were near two hundred killed, and above two hundred taken prisoners; and those that fled contributed more to the victory, than the prisoners, or the slain, for they were scattered and dispersed over all the country, and scarce a man without a cut over the face and head, or some other hurt; that wrought more upon the neighbours towards their conversion,

[k] had] *Not in MS.*

than any sermon could be preached to them. Some of the principal officers, and of their horse, got into Bediford and Barnstable; and not considering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the cavaliers, told strange stories of "the horror and fear that seized upon "them, and that nobody saw above six of the ene-"my, that charged them;" which proved a greater dismay to their friends, than their defeat.

At this time came prince Maurice to Exeter, the fame of whose arrival brought a new terror, so that the fort at Appledore, which commanded the river to Barnstable and Bediford, being delivered to colonel Digby, within two or three days after his victory, those two towns shortly after submitted to his majesty, upon promise of pardon, and such other articles as were of course; which colonel Digby saw precisely observed, as far as concerned the towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the inhabitants. And this success so wrought upon the spirits and temper of that people, that all the persons of eminent disaffection withdrawing themselves, according to their liberty by the articles; colonel Digby, within very few days, increased his small party to the number of three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse; with which he was by prince Maurice ordered to march to Plymouth, and to block up that place from making incursions into the country.

Barnstable and Bediford yielded to him.

The loss of all their garrisons on the north coast, and despair of succour or relief from any other place, prevailed with the earl of Stamford, and that committee in Exeter, (to whom the earl was not superior,) to treat with the prince; and thereupon articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleasant city

Exeter delivered to the prince

BOOK VII. 1643. upon articles, September 4.

was delivered on the fourth of September, which was within fourteen or sixteen days after prince Maurice came thither, into the king's protection, after it had suffered no other distress, or impression from the besiegers, than the being kept from taking the air without their own walls, and from being supplied from the country markets.

There was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new argument of trouble to the king, upon a difference between prince Maurice and the marquis. It hath been said, that[1] the earl of Carnarvon, who was general of the horse of the western army, had marched from Bristol the day before the prince, and had taken Dorchester and Weymouth, before his highness came up to the army, both considerable places, and the seats of great malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a garrison; but the latter was the best port town of that country, and to be kept with great care. The marquis had made some promise of the government thereof, when it should be taken, (of which they made no doubt,) to sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, a young gentleman of that country, of a fair and plentiful fortune, and one, who, in the opinion of most men, was like to advance the place by being governor of it, and to raise men for the defence of it, without lessening the army; and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of officers and soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince Maurice, on the other side, had some other person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it should fall. In the moment that

[1] It hath been said, that] *Not in MS.*

the town was taken, and before the prince came thither, sir Anthony, hearing that the marquis came not with the army, but remained some time at Bristol, made all the haste he could to him, and came thither the same day the king left it; and applied himself to the marquis, who remembered his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power so to do, since it appeared, that the town was taken before the king had declared to him, that he should not go to the army; till when he ought to be looked upon as general of it. He conferred with the chancellor of the exchequer [m] upon it, as a matter in which his honour was concerned, and on which his heart was set. Sir Anthony [n] came likewise to him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his assistance, "that, "after so much charge he had been put to, in the "expectation of it, and to prepare for it, he might "not be exposed to the mirth and contempt of the "country." It was evident, that if he returned with the commission from the marquis, (which he was most inclined to give him,) both he and the commission would be affronted, and the town would not be suffered to submit to him. Therefore the chancellor was of opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the king, and desire his favour, as well as his justice, in giving his commission to the person designed by the marquis; which would remove that part of the exception, which would most trouble the prince; and he offered to write himself very earnestly to the king. Besides [o] his desire to gratify the marquis, he

[m] of the exchequer] *Not in MS.*

[n] Sir Anthony] And sir Anthony

[o] Besides] And besides

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did in truth believe it of great importance to his majesty's service, to engage a person of such a fortune and interest, so throughly in his quarrel, as he then believed such an obligation must needs do; the flexibility and instability of that gentleman's nature not being then understood, or suspected.

He did write, with all the skill and importunity he could use, to the king; and writ [p] to the lord Falkland, "to take sir John Colepepper with him, if "he found any aversion in the king, that they might "together discourse, and prevail with him." But his majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it; and said, "he would not, to please the "marquis in an unjust pretence, put a public dis-"obligation and affront upon his nephew." So the express returned without effect, and the marquis was as sensibly touched as could be imagined; and said, "that he was fallen from all credit [q] with the "king, and was made incapable of doing him farther "service; that his fidelity should never be lessened "towards him," (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought,) "but since he was become so to-"tally useless to the king, and to his friends, he "hoped his majesty would give him leave to retire "to his own house; where, he doubted not, he "should be suffered to live privately and quietly, to "pray for the king." The chancellor knew well the nature of the marquis, that [r] would never give him leave to pursue any resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his majesty, for whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too, that the mischief

[p] writ] wrote
[q] from all credit] from any degree of credit
[r] that] which

was not small, from the observation that the marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment those jealousies and discontents; and therefore resolved (having despatched all things which were incumbent on him at Bristol, and used all freedom with [s] the marquis, for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the king, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new instances.[t] And at last,

[s] with] to

[t] with new instances.] *Thus continued in MS. B.:* The king left Bristol in the resolution and expectation formerly mentioned; and when he came near Gloucester, he sent a summons to the governor, and drew up his army in the view of the town from a reasonable ascent; and after he had expected an answer some hours, one of the citizens of the town, of a very ill aspect and rude behaviour, came to the king with the answer from the mayor and aldermen, as well as from the governor, and signed by them all, which the messenger would read in a loud unmannerly voice. It did not only contain a refusal to deliver the place, and a declaration that they did and would keep it for the parliament; but had such reproachful expressions in it, that together with the sauciness of the messenger, as exceedingly incensed the king: and the messenger was no sooner returned, but they gave another evidence of their resolution, by setting all the suburbs, in which there was a fair street and many good houses, on a fire together. Though the king had resolved before not to be engaged in the siege of this city, and he received new instances from the queen, and intelligence from London of the extraordinary distractions there, to confirm him in that resolution, and many members of both houses had left the parliament, whereof some came to Oxford, (who shall be mentioned anon,) and all sent word, that if the king now marched towards London, the city itself would compel the parliament to make a peace; but these unmannerly and insolent provocations from the town persuaded him that he was bound in honour speedily to chastise it. Upon the drawing up his army, he found it much weaker than he thought it to have been. The gentlemen of Gloucestershire and of the Welsh side of the Severn came to him, and made great professions how soon they would recruit his army, if he would remain some time there; that the town would be taken in few days, and whilst he was taking it, his army should be increased every day; whereas

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with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with

1643. if he marched presently away, besides the dishonour of it, he would not be able to carry away with him one man more than he had brought thither, which would appear a very small body to shew to the city of London for their encouragement to join with him. But that which made most impression was, that the express was now returned from the earl of Newcastle, who informed his majesty, that it was impossible for him to comply with his commands and expectation in marching with his army into the associated counties; for that the gentlemen of the country who had the best regiments, and were amongst the best officers, utterly refused to march, except Hull were first taken, and that he had not strength enough to march with any considerable body, and to leave Hull securely blocked up; which resolution made it, in the judgment of the king and of most of the officers, necessary for the king to engage in the siege of that town; and thereupon he sent for the general, who remained yet at Oxford, to attend him at Gloucester, with his greatest cannon, and such foot as could be spared out of Oxford; and thereupon he committed the care of one approach, which was resolved upon, to the general; and another, which was thought necessary, to another part of the town, to sir Jacob Ashley, the major general of the foot, who best understood that kind of service; and so disposed the whole army formally to the siege; his majesty himself quartering in a village about two miles distant from the city: and in this posture that affair stood, when the chancellor came to the king from Bristol. And at last, &c. (*as in page* 223, *line* 10, *to the words* according to his command, *p.* 225, *l.* 9. *where the MS. proceeds thus:*) The king told the chancellor that it was necessary he should make haste to Oxford, where he would find the lords in great disorder for his having engaged the army before Gloucester, but more upon the news of the earl of Holland and the earl of Bedford being coming to Oxford; that they were already come to Wallingford, where the governor, col. Blague, had civilly detained them, till he might understand the king's pleasure, who seemed to be in some trouble and irresolution in what manner to receive them. The chancellor stayed not above two hours with the king; but though it was late, went to a gentleman's house five or six miles from thence, and, after some hours sleep, made haste the next morning to Oxford; where before night the king likewise arrived, of which he had no thought when the chancellor came away; but received that night some letter from the queen, which made him believe that journey necessary, bringing a small train with him; and after one day's stay he returned to the siege, where his presence was in many respects very necessary.

his majesty, that he gave a commission to sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, to be governor of Weymouth; which he was the more easily persuaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the person, who, he understood, was designed to that government. However, the marquis received it as a seasonable act of favour to himself, and, in a short time after, came from Bristol to Oxford, to attend upon his majesty according to his command. 1643.

The prosecution of the siege of Gloucester.

At Gloucester the business proceeded very slowly: for though the army increased wonderfully there, by the access of forces from all quarters, yet the king had neither money nor materials requisite for a siege, and they in the town behaved themselves with great courage and resolution, and made many sharp and bold sallies upon the king's forces, and did more hurt commonly than they received; and many officers of name, besides common soldiers, were slain in the trenches and approaches; the governor leaving nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander. Sometimes, upon the sallies, the horse got between the town and them, so that many prisoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recovered, they confessed, "that the governor always gave the party that made the sally, "as much wine and strong water as they desired to "drink:" so that it seems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very observable, that, in all the time the king lay there with a very glorious army, and after the taking of a city of much greater name, there was no one officer run from the town to him, nor above three common soldiers, which is a great argument, the discipline within was very good. Besides the loss of men before the town, both from

BOOK VII. 1643. the walls, and by sickness, (which was not greater than was to be reasonably expected,) a very great licence broke into the army, both among officers and soldiers; the malignity of those parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine, or severity among the inhabitants. Insomuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thousand sheep were in a few days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the commissaries for a regular provision; and many countrymen imprisoned by officers without warrant, or the least knowledge of the king's, till they had paid good sums of money, for their delinquency; all which brought great clamour upon the discipline of the army, and justice of the officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the service they were to expect.

In the mean time nothing was left at London unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of Gloucester. All overtures of peace were suppressed, and the city purely at the devotion of those who were most violent, who put [u] one compliment upon them at this time, that is not to be passed over. It is remembered before, that, at the beginning of these distractions, before the king's going into the north, his majesty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two houses, made sir John Coniers lieutenant of the Tower of London; who was a soldier of very good estimation, and had been the lieutenant general of his horse in that last preparation against the Scots, and governor of Berwick. The parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own creature, and desired

[u] put] had put

to have engaged him in some active command in their armies, having the reputation of one of the best officers of horse of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contained himself within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of prisoners, sent to the Tower by the two houses, and the excessive fees they paid, yielded him a vast profit; in the administration whereof he was so impartial, that those prisoners who suffered most for his majesty, found no more favour or indulgence from him than the rest. About this time, either discerning that they grew to confide less in him than they had done, and that he must engage himself in their service, or should shortly lose the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be so near those actions he saw every day committed, and to lie under the scandal of keeping his majesty's only fort which he could not apply to his service, he desired leave from the houses, "to go into "Holland," where his education had been, and his fortune was, without obliging himself to a time of return. The proposition was not unwelcome to the houses; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the custody of the Tower of London, to the lord mayor Pennington; that the city might see they were trusted to hold their own reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always justled with their own. This[x] compliment served to a double purpose; for thereby, as they made the city believe they had put themselves under their protection, so they were sure they had put the city under the power, or under the apprehen-

The custody of the Tower committed by the two houses to the lord mayor Pennington.

[x] This] And this

BOOK VII. sion of the power of him, who would never forsake them out of an appetite to peace.

1643. The earl of Essex now declared, that he would himself undertake the relief of Gloucester, whereas before sir William Waller was designed to it, and, whencesoever it proceeded, was returned to his old full alacrity against the king, and recovered those officers and soldiers again to him, who had absented by his connivance, or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his numbers increased not so fast as the occasion required: for colonel Massy found means to send many messengers out of the town, to advertise the straits he was in, and the time that he should be able to hold out. Their ordinance of pressing, though executed with unusual rigour, insomuch as persons of good fortunes, who had retired to London, that they might be less taken notice of, were seized on, and detained in custody, till they paid so much money, or procured an able man to go in their places, brought not in such a supply as they expected; and such as were brought in, and delivered to the officers, declared such an averseness to the work to which they were designed, and such a peremptory resolution not to fight, that they only increased their numbers, not their strength, and run away upon the first opportunity. In the end, they had no other resort for men, but to those who had so constantly supplied them with money, and prevailed with their true friends, the city, which they still alarmed with the king's irreconcilableness to them, to send three or four of their trained-band regiments, or auxiliaries, to fight with the enemy at that distance, rather than to expect him at their own walls, where they

must be assured to see him as soon as Gloucester should be reduced; and then they would be as much perplexed with the malignants within, as with the enemy without their city. BOOK VII. 1643.

Upon such arguments, and the power of the earl of Essex, so many regiments of horse and foot as he desired were assigned to march with him; and so, towards the end of August, he marched out of London; and having appointed a rendezvous near Aylesbury, where he was met by the lord Grey, and other forces of the associated counties, from thence he marched by easy journeys towards Gloucester, with an army of above[y] eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse. It would not at first be credited at the leaguer, that the earl of Essex could be in a condition to attempt such a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the intelligence, and suspected rather that he would give some alarm to Oxford, where the queen was, and thereby hope to draw the army from Gloucester, than that in truth he would venture upon so tedious a march, where he must pass[z] over a campaign near thirty miles in length, where half the king's body of horse would distress, if not destroy his whole army, and through a country eaten bare, where he could find neither provision for man nor horse; and if he should, without interruption, be suffered to go into Gloucester, he could neither stay there, nor possibly retire to London, without being destroyed in the rear by the king's army, which should nevertheless not engage itself in the hazard of a battle. Upon these conclusions they proceeded in their works be-

The earl of Essex marches out of London to relieve Gloucester.

[y] above] about

[z] pass over a campaign] march over a campagnia

BOOK VII. 1643.

fore Gloucester, their galleries being near finished, and visibly a great want of ammunition in the town; yet the lord Wilmot was appointed, with a good party of horse, to wait about Banbury, and to retire before the enemy, if he should advance towards Gloucester, and to give such impediments to their march, as in such a country might be easy to do; prince Rupert himself staying with the body of horse, upon the hills above Gloucester, to join, if the earl of Essex should be so hardy as to venture.

The earl came to Brackley, and having there taken in from Leicester and Bedford the last recruits upon which he depended, he marched steadily over all that campaign, which they thought he feared, towards Gloucester; and though the king's horse were often within view, and entertained him with light skirmishes, he pursued his direct way; the king's horse still retiring before him, till the foot was compelled to raise the siege, in more disorder and distraction than might have been expected; and so with less loss, and easier skirmishes, than can be imagined, the earl, with his army and train, marched to Gloucester; where he found them reduced to one single barrel of powder; and all other provisions answerable. And it must be confessed, that governor gave a stop to the career of the king's good success, and from his pertinacious defence of that place, the parliament had time to recover their broken forces, and more broken spirits; and may acknowledge to this rise the greatness to which they afterwards aspired.

The siege of Gloucester raised.

The earl of Essex stayed in that joyful town (where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour) three days; and in that time, which

was as wonderful as any part of the story, caused all necessary provisions to be brought in to them, out of those very quarters in which the king's army had been sustained, and which they conceived to be entirely spent: so solicitous were the people to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them; which, without a connivance from the king's commissaries, could not have been done. All this time the king lay at Sudley castle, the house of the lord Chandois, within eight miles of Gloucester, watching when that army would return; which, they conceived, stayed rather out of despair than election, in those eaten quarters; and, to open them a way for their retreat, his majesty removed to Esham, hoping the earl would choose to go back the same way he came; which, for many reasons, was to be desired; and thereupon the earl marched to Tewkesbury, as if he had no other purpose. The king's horse, though bold, and vigorous upon action and execution, were always less patient of duty and ill accommodation than they should be; and at this time, partly with weariness, and partly with the indisposition that possessed the whole army upon this relief of the town, were less vigilant towards the motion of the enemy: so that the earl of Essex was marched with his whole army and train from Tewkesbury, four and twenty hours before the king heard which way he was gone: for he took the advantage of a dark night, and having sure guides, reached Cirencester before the breaking of the day; where he found two regiments of the king's horse quartered securely; all which, by the negligence of the officers, (a common and fatal crime throughout the war, on the king's part,) he surprised, to the

The earl of Essex in his return seizes upon Cirencester.

BOOK VII. 1643.

number of above three hundred; and, which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of provisions, prepared, by the king's commissaries, for the army before Gloucester, and which they neglected to remove after the siege was raised, and so most sottishly left it for the relief of the enemy, far more apprehensive of hunger than of the sword; and indeed this wonderful supply strangely exalted their spirits, as sent by the special care and extraordinary hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

From hence the earl, having no farther apprehension of the king's horse, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open campaign, and being at the least twenty miles before him, by easy marches, that his sick and wearied soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and enclosed county of North Wiltshire, his direct way to London. As soon as the king had sure notice which way the enemy was gone, he endeavoured, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the supine negligence of those he trusted had robbed him of; and himself, with matchless industry, taking care to lead up the foot, prince Rupert, with near five thousand horse, marched day and night over the hills, to get between London and the enemy before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep countries, in which they were engaged between narrow lanes, and to entertain them with skirmishes till the whole army should come up. This design, pursued and executed with indefatigable pains, succeeded to his wish; for when the van of the enemy's army had almost marched over Awborne Chase, intending that night to have reached

Newbury, prince Rupert, beyond[a] their fear or expectation, appeared with a strong body of horse, so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to receive him, he charged their rear, and routed them with good execution; and though the enemy performed the parts of good men, and applied themselves more dexterously to the relief of each other, than on so sudden and unlooked for an occasion was expected, yet with some difficulty, and the loss of many men, they were glad to shorten their journey, and the night coming on, took up their quarters at Hungerford. BOOK VII. 1643.

In this conflict, which was very sharp for an hour or two, many fell of the enemy, and of the king's party none of name, but the marquis of Vieu Ville, a gallant gentleman of the French nation, who had attended the queen out of Holland, and put himself as a volunteer upon this action, into the lord Jermyn's regiment. There were hurt many officers, and among those the lord Jermyn received a shot in his arm with a pistol; owing the preservation of his life from other shots to the excellent temper of his armour[b]; and the lord Digby a strange hurt in the face, a pistol being discharged at so near a distance upon him, that the powder fetched much blood from his face, and for the present blinded him, without farther mischief; by which it was concluded, that the bullet had dropped out before the pistol was discharged: and may be reckoned among one of those escapes, of which that gallant person hath passed a greater number, in the course of his life, than any man I know.

[a] beyond] besides

[b] armour] arms

BOOK VII. 1643.

By this expedition of prince Rupert, the enemy was forced to such delay, that the king came up with his foot and train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the licence which many officers and soldiers took whilst the king lay at Esham, were much lessened, being above two thousand fewer, than when he raised his siege from Gloucester. And when the earl, the next day, advanced from Hungerford, hoping to recover Newbury, which prince Rupert with his horse would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two miles of the town, he found the king possessed of it; for his majesty, with his whole army, was come thither two hours before: this put him to a necessity of staying upon the field that night; it being now the seventeenth day of September.

It was now thought by many, that the king had recovered whatsoever had been lost by former oversights, omissions, or neglects, and that by the destroying the army which had relieved Gloucester, he should be fully recompensed for being disappointed of that purchase. He seemed to be possessed of all advantages to be desired, a good town to refresh his men in, whilst the enemy lodged in the field, his own quarters to friend, and his garrison of Wallingford at hand, and Oxford itself within distance for supply of whatsoever should be wanting; when the enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the prince had attacked them, the day before, had stood in their arms, in a country where they could not find victual. So that it was conceived, that it was in the king's power, whether he would fight or no, and therefore that he might com-

pel them to notable disadvantages, who must make their way through, or starve; and this was so fully understood, that it was resolved over night, not to engage in battle, but upon such grounds as should give an assurance of victory. But, contrary to this resolution, when the earl of Essex had, with excellent conduct, drawn out his army in battalia, upon a hill called Bigg's Hill, within less than a mile of the town, and ordered his men in all places to the best advantage, by the precipitate courage of some young officers, who had good commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the courage of the enemy, strong parties became successively so far engaged, that the king was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a battle, and to give the enemy at least an equal game to play.

The battle of Newbury.

It was disputed, on all parts, with great fierceness and courage; the enemy preserving good order, and standing rather to keep the ground they were upon, than to get more; by which they did not expose themselves to those disadvantages, which any motion would have offered to the assailants. The king's horse, with a kind of contempt of the enemy, charged with wonderful boldness, upon all grounds of inequality; and were so far too hard for the troops of the other side, that they routed them in most places, till they had left the greatest part of their foot without any guard at all of horse. But then the foot behaved themselves admirably on the enemy's part, and gave their scattered horse time to rally, and were ready to assist and secure them upon all occasions. The London trained bands, and auxiliary regiments, (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practice of their

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postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation,) behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day. For they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that, though prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about: of so sovereign benefit and use is that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of their arms, which hath been so much neglected.

It was fought all that day without any such notable turn, as that either party could think they had much the better. For though the king's horse made the enemy's often give ground, yet the foot were so immoveable, that little was gotten by the other; and the first entrance into the battle was so sudden, and without order, that, during the whole day, no use was made of the king's cannon, though that of the enemy was placed so unhappily, that it did very great execution upon the king's party, both horse and foot. The night parted them, when nothing else could; and each party had then time to revolve the oversights of the day. The enemy had fared at least as well as they hoped for; and therefore, in the morning early, they put themselves in order of marching, having an obligation in necessity to gain some place, in which they might eat and sleep. On the king's side there was not that caution which should have been the day before; and though the number of the slain was not so great, as, in so hot a day, might have been looked for, yet very many offi-

cers and gentlemen were hurt: so that they rather chose to take advantage of the enemy's motion, than to charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, called off the night before, when they had recovered a post, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the adversary. The earl of Essex finding his way open, pursued his main design of returning to London, and took that way by Newbury, which led towards Reading; which prince Rupert observing, suffered him, without interruption or disturbance, to pass, till his whole army was entered into the narrow lanes; and then with a strong party of horse, and one thousand musketeers, followed his rear with so good effect, that he put them into great disorder, and killed many, and took many prisoners. However the earl, with the gross of his army, and all his cannon, got safe into Reading; and, after a night or two spent there to refresh and rest his men, he moved in a slow and orderly march to London, leaving Reading to the king's forces: which was presently possessed by sir Jacob Ashley, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, and made again a garrison for the king: his majesty and prince Rupert, with the remainder of the army, retiring to Oxford, and leaving a garrison under the command of colonel Boys in Donnington castle (a house of John Packer's, but more famous for having been the seat of Geoffery Chaucer, within a mile of Newbury) to command the great road, through which the western trade was driven to London.

The earl of Essex gets into Reading; thence to London.

At this time sir William Waller was at Windsor, with above two thousand horse, and as many foot, as unconcerned for what might befall the earl of Es-

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sex, as the earl[c] had formerly been on his behalf at Roundway hill: otherwise, if he had advanced upon the king to Newbury (which was not above twenty miles) when the earl was on the other side, the king had been in great danger of an utter defeat; and the apprehension of this was the reason, or was afterwards pretended to be, for the hasty engagement in battle.

The earl of Essex was received at London with all imaginable demonstrations of affection and reverence; public and solemn thanksgiving was appointed for his victory, for such they made no scruple to declare it. Without doubt, the action was performed by him with incomparable conduct and courage; in every part whereof very much was to be imputed to his own personal virtue; and it may be well reckoned among the most soldierly actions of this unhappy war. For he did the business he undertook, and, after the relief of Gloucester, his next care was to retire with his army to London; which, considering the length of the way, and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less loss than could be expected; on the other hand, the king was not without signs[d] of a victory. He had followed, and compelled the enemy to fight, by overtaking him, when he desired to avoid it. He had the spoil of the field, and pursued the enemy the next day after the battle, and had a good execution upon them, without receiving any loss; and, which seemed to crown the work, fixed a garrison again at Reading, and thereby straitened their quarters as much as they were[e] in the beginning of the year;

[c] the earl] he
[d] signs] some signs
[e] as they were] as it was

his own being enlarged by the almost entire conquest of the west, and his army much stronger, in horse and foot, than when he first took the field. On which side soever the marks and public ensigns of victory appeared most conspicuous, certain it is, that, according to the unequal fate that attended all skirmishes and conflicts with such an adversary, the loss on the king's side was in weight much more considerable and penetrating; for whilst some obscure, unheard of colonel or officer was missing on the enemy's side, and some citizen's wife bewailed the loss of her husband, there were, on the other, above twenty officers of the field, and persons of honour, and public name, slain upon the place, and more of the same quality hurt. 1643.

The earl of Sunderland slain in this battle:

Here fell the earl of Sunderland, a lord of great fortune, tender years, (being not above three and twenty years of age,) and an early judgment; who, having no command in the army, attended upon the king's person, under the obligation of honour; and putting himself that day in the king's troop a volunteer, before they came to charge, was taken away by a cannon bullet.

and the earl of Carnarvon; his character.

This day also fell the earl of Carnarvon, who, after he had charged, and routed a body of the enemy's horse, coming carelessly back by some of the scattered troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the body with a sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a person, with whose great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more nations, than our common travellers use to visit, (for he had, after the view of

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Spain, France, and most parts of Italy, spent some time in Turkey, and those eastern countries,) he seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the troubles begun, having the command of the first or second regiment of horse, that was raised for the king's service, he wholly gave himself up to the office and duty of a soldier; no man more diligently obeying, or more dexterously commanding; for he was not only of a very keen courage in the exposing his person, but an excellent discerner and pursuer of advantage upon his enemy. He had[f] a mind and understanding very present in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those infirmities, and that licence, which he had formerly indulged to himself, he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a soldier. He was a great lover of justice, and practised it then most deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and so strict in the observation of his word and promise as a commander, that he could not be persuaded to stay in the west, when he found it not in his power to perform the agreement he had made with Dorchester and Weymouth. If he had lived, he would have proved a great ornament to that profession, and an excellent soldier, and by his death the king found a sensible weakness in his army.

And the lord viscount Falkland; his character.

But I must here take leave a little longer to discontinue this narration: and if the celebrating the memory of eminent and extraordinary persons, and

[f] He had] And had

transmitting their great virtues, for the imitation of posterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of history, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotten, and no success or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy battle was slain the lord viscount Falkland; a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war, than that single loss, it must be most infamous, and execrable to all posterity. 1643.

Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore.

Before this parliament, his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be[g] twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was lord deputy; so that, when he returned into England, to the possession of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends, which usually grow up by the custom of conversation; and therefore was to make a pure election of his company; which he chose by other rules than were

[g] be] *Not in MS.*

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prescribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity; and such men had a title to his bosom.

He was a great cherisher of wit, and fancy, and good parts in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune; of which, in those administrations, he was such a dispenser, as, if he had been trusted with it to such uses, and if there had been the least of vice in his expense, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore having once resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

In this time, his house being within little more than ten [h] miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that university; who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him, so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most lo-

[h] within little more than ten] within ten

gical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university in a less volume; whither they came not so much for repose as study; and to examine and refine those grosser propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation. 1643.

Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laics; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek and Latin fathers, and having a memory so stupendous, that he remembered, on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests, and others of the Roman church, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence

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with them quite declined, when, by sinister arts, they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house, and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness of style, and full weight of reason, that the church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.

He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men; and that made him too much a contemner of those arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs. In the last short parliament, he was a burgess in the house of commons; and, from the debates which were there[i] managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom; or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his father having wasted a full fortune there, in those offices and employments by which other men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this parliament to serve in the same place, and, in the beginning of it,

[i] there] then

declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances, which had been most grievous to the state; for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules, that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules, for reasons of state; or judges to transgress known laws, upon the title of conveniency, or necessity; which made him so severe against the earl of Strafford and the lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper: insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge, as it was from pride, thought that the sharpness to the former might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both cases[k] was only misled by the authority of those, who, he believed, understood the laws perfectly; of which himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was then[l] scarce controverted, had been true, "that an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom was[m] treason," a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several charges. 1643.

The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hambden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly

[k] in both cases] *Not in MS.*
[l] then] *Not in MS.*
[m] was] had been

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in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned in them a desire to control that law by a vote of one or both houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation; insomuch as he was, by degrees, looked upon as an advocate for the court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those invitations which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a moroseness [n] to the court, and to the courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the king's or queen's favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the king sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which his majesty graciously termed "doing him service," his answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable, and that his majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections; which, from a stoical and sullen nature, might not have been misinterpreted; yet, from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men, might very well have been interpreted by the king as more than an ordinary averseness to his service: so that he took more

[n] moroseness] morosity

pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable, and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the court, than most men have done to procure an office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the king's grace and trust at that time, he had not been called to his council; not that he was in truth averse from receiving [o] public employment; for he had a great devotion to the king's person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a foreign negociation, and had once a desire to be sent ambassador into France; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man, that, in the discharge of his trust and duty in parliament, he had any bias to the court, or that the king himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest. 1643.

For this reason, when he heard it first whispered, "that the king had a purpose to make him a "privy [p] counsellor," for which there was, in the beginning, no other ground, but because he was known sufficient, (*haud semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit,*) he resolved to decline it; and at last suffered himself only to be overruled, by the advice and persuasions of his friends, to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the king intended to make him secretary of state, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his friends, "that he was most unfit for it, "and that he must either do that which would be "great disquiet to his own nature, or leave that un-"done which was most necessary to be done by one

[o] averse from receiving] averse to the court or from receiving

[p] privy] *Not in MS.*

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"that was honoured with that place; for the [q] most "just and honest men did, every day, that which he "could not give himself leave to do." And indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth [r], that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from his own rules of life: though he acknowledged them [s] fit, and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments. He was, in truth, [t] so precise in the practic principles he prescribed himself, [u] (to all others he was as indulgent,) as if he had lived *in republica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli.*

Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the consideration that his refusal [x] might bring some blemish upon the king's affairs, and that men would have believed, that he had refused so great an honour and trust, because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the king made choice of him, before other men, especially because he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the house of commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for hav-

[q] the] that the
[r] truth] *MS. adds: ad amussim.*
[s] though he acknowledged them] which he acknowledged
[t] He was, in truth,] And was
[u] himself,] to himself,
[x] his refusal] it

ing done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to and approved the justice upon sir Harry Vane, in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for. 1643.

For these reasons, he submitted to the king's command, and became his secretary, with as humble and devoted[y] an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he continued in that office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean such emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or any particulars that[z] such an observation can comprehend; but those, who by communication of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wind[a] themselves into such trusts and secrets, as enable[b] them to make discoveries.[c] The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of

[y] devoted] devout

[z] or any particulars that] or such generals as

[a] wind] wound

[b] enable] enabled

[c] discoveries.] discoveries for the benefit of the state.

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dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "such instruments must be void of all ingenuity, "and common honesty, before they could be of use; "and afterwards they could never be fit to be cre- "dited: and that no single preservation could be "worth so general a wound, and corruption of hu- "man society, as the cherishing such persons would "carry with it." The last, he thought "such a viola- "tion of the law of nature, that no qualification by of- "fice could justify him [d] in the trespass;" and though he was convinced by the necessity, and iniquity of the time, that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he found means to put it off [e] from himself; whilst [f] he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission: so unwilling he was to resign any part of good nature [g] to an obligation in his office.

In all other particulars he filled his place with great sufficiency, being well versed [h] in languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit.* Some sharp expressions he used against the archbishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of bishops in the house of peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publish, "that he was no friend to the church, and

[d] him] a single person
[e] put it off] shift it
[f] whilst] when
[g] any part of good nature] any thing in his nature
[h] with great sufficiency, being well versed] plentifully, being sufficiently versed

" the established government of it;" and troubled his very friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to answer the allegations.

The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the archbishop; and having observed his passion, [i] when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or other indisposition, had possessed him, did wish him less entangled and engaged in the business of the court, or state: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great learning, and confessed integrity; and really thought his own letting himself loose [k] to those expressions, which implied a disesteem of the archbishop, [l] or at least an acknowledgment of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his soul.

The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the bishops, did proceed from two grounds: the first, his not understanding then [m] the original of their right and suffrage there: the other, an opinion, that the combination against the whole government of the church by bishops, was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs, would not preserve the order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared, " they did desire the one, and would " not then press the other;" which, in that particular, misled many men. But when his observation

[i] and having observed his passion,] and having only known him enough to observe his passion,

[k] his own letting himself loose] his letting himself

[l] of the archbishop,] of him,

[m] then] *Not in MS.*

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and experience made him discern more of their intentions, than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence; and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men. He was[n] never in the least degree swayed or moved by the objections which were made against that government in the church[o], (holding them most ridiculous,) or affected to the other, which those men fancied to themselves.

He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he seemed not without some appetite[p] of danger; and therefore, upon any occasion of action, he always engaged his person in those troops, which he thought, by the forwardness of the commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulness,[q] without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them,[r] in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by resistance, made[s] necessary: insomuch that at Edge-hill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown

[n] He was] And was

[o] in the church] *Not in MS.*

[p] seemed not without some appetite] was not without appetite

[q] an extraordinary cheerfulness,] a strange cheerfulness and companiableness,

[r] that usually attended them,] that was then principally to be attended,

[s] made] *Not in MS.*

them away: so that [t] a man might think, he came into the field chiefly [u] out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier; and shortly after he came to his fortune, before he was of age, [x] he went into the Low Countries, with a resolution of procuring command, and to give himself up to it, from which he was diverted [y] by the complete inactivity of that summer: so [z] he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarum from the north; then [a] again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the earl of Essex.

From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to; yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor, (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages, that might then have been laid hold of,) he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat.* But after the

[t] so that] insomuch as
[u] chiefly] only
[x] before he was of age,] and before he came to age,
[y] diverted] converted
[z] so] and so
[a] then] and then

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king's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly easy [b] and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness, and less pleasantness of the visage, a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded [c] before always with more neatness, and industry, and expense, than is usual to so great a soul, [d] he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men, (strangers [e] to his nature and disposition,) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

It is true, that [f] as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even submission [g] to good, and worthy, and entire men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermixture, than his own election would have [h] done) *adversus malos injucundus;* and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men, that it was not possible for such not to discern it.

[b] easy] unreserved
[c] minded] intended
[d] soul,] mind,
[e] strangers] who were strangers
[f] It is true, that] The truth is,
[g] even submission] even a demissness, and submission
[h] would have] had

There was once, in the house of commons, such a declared acceptation of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "that the speaker might, in the name of the whole "house, give him thanks; and then, that every "member might, as a testimony of his particular ac- "knowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him;" the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the lord Falkland, (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompense,) instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all men might see, how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.

When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace;* and would passionately profess, "that "the very agony of the war, and the view of the ca- "lamities and desolation the kingdom did and must "endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly "break his heart." This made some think, or pretend to think, "that he was so much enamoured on "peace, that he would have been glad the king "should have bought it at any price;" which was a most unreasonable calumny. As if a man, that was

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himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour, could have wished the king to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloucester, when his friend [i] passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger, (for he [k] delighted to visit the trenches, and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did,) as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood rather to be [l] against it, he would say merrily, "that his office could not take away the privilege [m] "of his age; and that a secretary in war might be "present at the greatest secret of danger;" but withal alleged seriously, "that it concerned him to "be more active in enterprises of hazard, than other "men; that all might see, that his impatiency for "peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to "adventure his own person."

In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the lord Byron's regiment, then [n] advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper,

[i] friend] friends
[k] for he] as he
[l] rather to be] *Not in MS.*
[m] privilege] privileges
[n] then] who was then

received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the true[o] business of life, that the eldest[p] rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency:[q] whosoever leads such a life, needs be the less anxious[r] upon how short warning it is[s] taken from him.

The earl of Essex returns to London.

(Now to go on with the course of our history:)[t] the earl of Essex entered into London on the 25th of September, (a day we shall have occasion to remember upon another solemnity,) and was the next day visited, at Essex house, by the speaker and the whole house of commons, who declared to him, "that they came to congratulate his notable suc-"cess, and to render the thanks of the kingdom to "him, for his incomparable conduct and courage; "and that they had caused their acknowledgment "to be entered in their journal book, as a monu-"ment and record of his virtue, and their grati-"tude." A day or two after, solemn thanks were rendered to those members of both houses, who had command in the army, and some extraordinary signification of respect derived to the superior officers throughout the army. A gaudy letter of kindness and value was sent to colonel Massy, and, which made the letter of more value, a thousand pounds was sent him as a gratuity or present for his service, over and above what was due to him for his pay,

[o] true] *Not in MS.*
[p] eldest] oldest
[q] innocency:] innocence:
[r] needs be the less anxious] need not care
[s] it is] it be
[t] (Now to go on with the course of our history:)] *Not in MS.*

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and some largess to all the inferior officers, and a month's pay, over and above their arrears, to the soldiers of that garrison.

Lest the discourse and apprehension of the jealousy between the earl of Essex and sir William Waller might administer hope or suspicion, that some division might grow amongst themselves, and, from thence, that the king might receive any advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publish, a reconciliation between them; in which sir William was all submission, and humility, and his excellence full of grace and courtesy. The passion and animosity, which difference of opinion had produced between any members, was totally laid aside and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a people newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the same end, as their brethren the Scots; of whose concurrence and assistance they were now assured, and satisfied that it would come soon enough for their preservation; of which they had not before a full confidence.

Though the king's army had all the trophies of victory in and after this battle, as is before related,[u] (it kept the field, and had the spoil of it; it took some pieces of the enemy's cannon, who marched off in the night, and were[x] pursued with some considerable loss beyond Reading, where a garrison was again placed for his majesty, under the command of sir Jacob Ashley, major general of the army, an excellent officer; so that the parliament was in so much a worse state than they were in the spring, as

[u] as is before related,] *Not in MS.* [x] were] was

the loss of Bristol and most of the west amounted to; for by this time Exeter was likewise reduced by prince Maurice,) yet, notwithstanding all this, the earl of Essex, as is said before, was received at London with all imaginable gratulation and triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumstances of great, soldierly,[y] and notable courage, and the heart and spirit of the parliament was visibly much exalted, and their impatience for peace quite abated.

The temper of the army and the court at Oxford, upon the return of the king thither.

On the contrary, upon the king's return to Oxford, there appeared nothing but dejection of mind, discontent, and secret mutiny in the army, anger and jealousy among the officers, every one accusing another of want of courage and conduct in the actions of the field; and they who were not of the army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights. The siege of Gloucester was not believed to have been well conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the earl of Essex in all the march over so open a country, was thought unexcusable, and was imputed to the want of courage in Wilmot, whom prince Rupert did in no degree favour; nor was the prince himself without some reproaches, for suffering the earl of Essex, after all the horse was joined, to march down a long steep hill into the vale of Gloucester, without any disturbance; and that the whole army, when it was found necessary to quit the siege, had not been brought to fight in that vale, and at some distance from the town, when the

[y] great, soldierly,] great soldiery,

BOOK VII. king's men were fresh, and the other side tired with so long a march.

1643. But then all men renewed their execrations against those, who advised the sitting down[z] before Gloucester; the officers, who had been present, and consenting to all the counsels, disclaiming, as much as any, the whole design; and all conspired to lay the whole reproach upon the master of the rolls, who spoke most in those debates, and was not at all gracious to the soldiers; and this clamour against that engagement was so popular and universal, that no man took upon himself to speak in defence of it; though, besides the reasons which have been formerly alleged for it, what happened in this last action, in the relief of Gloucester,[a] might well seem to justify it; for since it appeared, that the city was so much united to the parliament, that it supplied their army with such a body of their trained bands, (without which it could never have marched,) with what success could his majesty have approached London, after the taking of Bristol, with his harassed[b] army? and would not the whole body of the trained bands have defended that, when so considerable a part of them could be persuaded to undertake a march of two hundred miles? for less they did not march, from the time they went out, to that in which they returned. But no reason could ever convert those, who looked upon that undertaking at Gloucester, as the ruin of the king's affairs.

The temper of the court was no better than that of the army: and the king was so much troubled

[z] the sitting down] the engagement

[a] what happened in this last action, in the relief of Gloucester,] this last action

[b] harassed] miserable

with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his condition required. They who had forborne to be importunate for honours, or offices, because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires from the king, made their modesty an argument of their merit to the queen; and assured her, "that they "had forborne to ask any thing in her absence, be- "cause they had always resolved never to receive "any thing, but by her bounty." Many pretended former promises and engagements for creations of honour, as soon as any thing should be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their majesties had given themselves ease from present importunities, by making promises, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, resolved, should not be soon: and now there was no sooner mention of conferring honour upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the rest, who had that promise, were very importunate and clamorous for the same justice. By this[c] means they were, upon the matter, compelled to gratify some men to whom they bore no good-will; and so, they who received the favours were no more pleased, than they were who conferred them; and they who were without ambition before, when they saw honours and offices conferred upon men, who, they thought, did not merit them better than themselves, thought their service undervalued if they did not receive the same reward. And it was a usual prologue to suits of that kind, "that they did not de- "sire it out of their own ambition, but purely to sa- "tisfy their friends; who withdrew their kindness

[c] By this] And by this

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"from them, out of an opinion that they had of-
"fended the king, who would not otherwise put so
"great a difference between them and other men."
Whence it may be observed, that[d] princes should not confer public rewards in a season when they can only gratify a[e] few, and[f] so many stand upon the same level in pretences, that they[g] are apt to resent[h] the preferring of one, as an affront and disobligation to the rest.

There was no particular that gave the king more unquietness, than the pretence[i] of my lord of Holland. The three earls I before mentioned,[k] had attended the king before he rose from Gloucester, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had charged the enemy, in the king's regiment of horse, at the battle of Newbury, very bravely; and had behaved themselves, throughout, very well; and returned to Oxford with his majesty; and now expected to be well looked upon: and the other two had no cause to complain; the king, upon all occasions, spoke very graciously to them, and particularly[l] sent the chancellor of the exchequer to the earl of Clare, "that he had liberty, and might be "present at the councils of war;" where the peers usually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and such things as concerned the country, were usually debated. But the earl of Holland was not pleased; he thought nothing of former miscarriages ought to be remembered; that all those were

[d] Whence it may be observed, that] *Not in MS.*
[e] a] *Not in MS.*
[f] and] and when
[g] that they] and
[h] to resent] to feel
[i] pretence] presence
[k] I before mentioned,] *Not in MS.*
[l] particularly] *Not in MS.*

cancelled by the merit of coming to the king now, and bringing such considerable persons with him, and disposing others to follow; and expected, upon his first appearance, to have had his key restored to him; to have been in the same condition he was in the bedchamber, and in the council, and in the king's grace and countenance; of all which he had assurance from the queen before he came, at least from Mr. Jermyn, who, no doubt, did exceed his commission; and the very deferring of this was grievous to him; and the more, because he found the same disrespect from all others, as he had done when he came first to Oxford. 1643.

He came frequently in the afternoon to Merton college; where the queen lay, and where the king was for the most part at that time of the day, and both their majesties looked well upon him, and spoke[m] to him in public as occasion was administered. Sometimes the king went aside with him to the window, in the same room, where they spoke[n] a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the queen did often in the same manner; and Mr. Jermyn, who was about this time made a baron, was very frequently with him. The king was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former resolutions. But the queen, whether from her inclination, or promise, or dislike of most other people, who were not so good courtiers, (as sure none was equal to him in that function and mystery,) did in truth heartily desire, that he might receive satisfac-

[m] spoke] spake

[n] spoke] spake

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tion in all things, according to his own desire; and would have trusted him herself as much as formerly: yet she complied so far with the king's aversion, that she yet forbore to press it, or to own the encouragement she had given him; nor had she a willingness to oppose so great a torrent of prejudice,[o] as she saw evidently run against him; so that she appeared not to wish, what without doubt she would have been very glad of. However the marquis of Hertford was now come to Oxford, and expected the performance of the king's promise to him, and to be admitted into the office of groom of the stole; of which the king took not the least notice to him since his return; which made it the more suspected, that the intention was to readmit the old officer; and this apprehension was confirmed by the queen's looking less graciously upon the marquis, than she had used to do. And it is true, though it may be she did not intend to make any such discovery by her looks, she was not pleased that any such promise was made, both because it was without her consent, and as it crossed what she designed; and much desired that the marquis could have been persuaded to have released it; towards which the lord Jermyn, with some passion, spoke[p] to the chancellor of the exchequer, "how unreasonable a thing it was for "the marquis, who was master of so great a for-"tune, to affect such a low preferment," (as he termed it,)[q] "and how generous a thing it would be "to quit his pretence;" but he quickly discovered him not to be willing to engage in any such propo-

[o] prejudice,] malice and prejudice,

[p] spoke] spake

[q] (as he termed it,)] *Not in MS.*

sition. All this wonderfully indisposed the other[r] lords, and the persons of quality in the town, who did not wish to see the court just filled[s] as it had been, or the queen herself possessed of so absolute a power, as she had been formerly; though they looked upon her person with all duty and reverence.

The earl of Holland did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his cunning[t] and experience; nor had ever made the least apology to the king for any thing he had formerly done; nor appeared to have the least sense that he had committed any error, as his majesty himself declared to those, who he knew were his friends;[u] and said, "that he behaved him-"self with the same confidence and assurance, as he "had done when he was most in his favour; and "that he retained still the old artifice at[x] court, to "be seen to whisper in the king's and queen's ear, "by which people thought there was some secret, "when the matter of those whispers was nothing "but what might be said in the open court; and[y] "that the earl of Holland had several times seemed "to desire to say somewhat in private to him, upon "which he had withdrawn from the company to the "end or corner of the room, and, at first, expected "and apprehended, that he would say somewhat in "his own excuse; but that he had never then said "one word, but what he might have spoke in the

[r] other] *Not in MS.*

[s] just filled] *Omitted in MS.*

[t] cunning] wisdom

[u] declared to those, who he knew were his friends;] *Originally in MS.:* told the chancellor, who he knew was his friend;

[x] at] of

[y] the open court; and] the market; so his majesty protested

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"circle; with which," the king[z] said, "he was the "better pleased; and that he believed, he had not "been more particular in his discourse[a] with the "queen,[b] save that he used to entertain her with "the wisdom[c] and power of the parliament, and "what great things they would be able to do, and "how much they were respected in foreign parts; "which," his majesty said, "was a strange discourse "for a man to make, who had so lately left them, "because he thought the king's condition to be the "better of the two."

The earl had a friend,[d] who did heartily desire to do him all the offices and services that would consist with the king's honour, and always apprehended the ill consequence of discouraging such conversions,[e] and who spoke[f] often to the earl of his own affairs. And when he complained of his usage, and repeated what promises and encouragement he had received to come to the king, and of what importance his good reception would have been; "that there were many "of considerable reputation and interest in the "house of commons," (whom he named,) "who in- "tended to have followed, and that the earl of "Northumberland expected only his advice;" his friend[g] asked him, "whether he had done all things, "since he came to the king, which might reasonably "be expected from him?" He said, "he thought he "had done all could be expected from him, in bring- "ing himself to the king; and, since his coming to

[z] the king] he
[a] in his discourse] *Not in MS.*
[b] the queen,] his wife,
[c] the wisdom] with discourses of the wisdom
[d] The earl had a friend,] *Originally in MS.*: The chancellor,
[e] conversions,] revolutions,
[f] and who spoke] spake
[g] his friend] *Originally*: the chancellor

"him, in venturing his life for him; and in lieu "thereof he had not received thanks, or one gracious "word; and now, after his office had been kept un- "bestowed near two years, and a promise made to "him, that he should be restored to it, it was to be "bestowed upon another, to make his disgrace the "more notorious; which he thought would not "prove for his majesty's honour or advantage."

His friend [h] asked him, "whether he had asked it "of the king, or informed him of the promise that "was made to him?" He said, "he had done nei- "ther, nor ever would; he expected it of the king's "grace, and would not extort it by a promise, "which, it might be, his majesty was not privy to." The other replied very plainly to him, "that if he "thought he had never committed any fault against "the king, he had no reason to acknowledge it, or "make excuse for it; but if he were conscious [i] of "any such, how unwarily soever it had been done, "or how unmaliciously soever it had been intended, "he ought to make some confession and apology to "his majesty; nor could his majesty, with the safety "of his honour, avow the receiving him into any "trust without it; nor was he capable of receiving "any offices from his friends, or the queen's own "declared interposition on his behalf, till he had "performed that necessary introduction." He told him, "if he would follow his advice, he believed he "might receive some effect of it;" which was, "that "he should send to desire a private audience of his "majesty in some room, where nobody might be "present; which would not be refused him; and

[h] His friend] *Originally:* The chancellor

[i] conscious] guilty

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" then he should (with all the excuses upon the " terror the parliament gave to all men, who had " exceeded the common rules, in their administra- " tion of the trust they had from his majesty; as he " could not deny he had done in many particulars " for the advancement of his majesty's service) con- " fess, that he had not been hardy enough to con- " temn that power, but had been so much in awe of " it, that he chose rather to presume upon his ma- " jesty's goodness, than to provoke their jealousy " and displeasure; and so had complied with them " more, than in his duty and gratitude to his ma- " jesty he ought to have done; for which he begged " his pardon upon his knees; and if he might obtain " it, he made no doubt, he should wipe out the me- " mory of past offences by some new services, which " should be beneficial to his majesty;" and he added, " that he would do very well, if he would sue out " his pardon, as the earl of Bedford had done; who " had asked it of the king when he first kissed his " hand, and had since wisely taken it out under the " great seal of England."

The earl of Holland seemed not at all pleased with this advice; said, " He did not think, though he " would not justify all that he had done, his trans- " gressions were of that magnitude, that they re- " quired such a formality of asking pardon; that his " case was very different from that of the earl of " Bedford, who had been in arms, and a general of- " ficer in the field against the king; whereas he had " only sat in the parliament, as lawfully he might " do; and if he had failed in his attendance upon

j added,] told him,

" his majesty, and otherwise deserved his displeasure, " he had received so many marks of it before he de- " served it, that might well transport a very faithful " servant into a discontent.[k] That as soon as he found " himself restored to any proportion of his majesty's " grace and confidence, his own inclination would " carry him to as humble apologies, and as deep ac- " knowledgments of all his transgressions, as could " be expected from him, and such as he believed " would reconcile the king's goodness to him: but " to make the first advance by such a kind of sub- " mission, he did not think he could prevail over " himself to do it." However, he took his advice very kindly, and spoke often with him after upon the same subject.

Being, upon conference with some other friends, advised the same, especially by his daughter, (whom he loved and esteemed exceedingly,) he[l] seemed resolved to do it; but whether he thought worse of the king's affairs, or liked the court the less, because he saw the poverty of it, and that whatever place or favour he might obtain, he could not expect a support from it to defray his expenses, (nor could he draw it from any other place,) he delayed it so long, that[m] the king found it reasonable to confer the office he had before[n] promised, upon the marquis of Hertford.

Upon which he withdrew himself,[o] for his convenience, to a neighbour village, where he had a pri-

[k] discontent.] discontent that would not become him.

[l] he] so that he

[m] so long, that] till

[n] before] so long

[o] Upon which he withdrew himself,] And then withdrawing himself,

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The earl of Holland returns into the parliament's quarters.

vate lodging; and,[p] after a few days, with the help of a dark night and a good guide, he got himself into the enemy's quarters, and laid himself at the feet of the parliament; which, after a short imprisonment, gave him leave to live in his own house, without farther considering him, than as a man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himself as grateful to them as he could, by an act very unsuitable to his honour, or his own generous nature: for he published a declaration in print of the cause of his going to, and returning from, Oxford; in which he endeavoured to make it believed, "that his compassion and love to "his country had only prevailed with him to go to "the king, in hope to have been able, upon the long "knowledge his majesty had of his fidelity, to per- "suade him to make a peace with his parliament; "which, from the time of his coming thither, he "had laboured to do; but that he found the court "so indisposed to peace, and that the papists had so "great a power there," (using many expressions dishonourable towards the king and his council,) "that "he resolved to make what haste he could back to "the parliament, and to spend the remainder of his "life in their service:" which action, so contrary to his own natural discretion and generosity, lost him the affection of those few who had preserved some kindness for him, and got him credit with nobody; and may teach all men how dangerous it is to step aside out of the path of innocence and virtue, upon any presumption to be able to get into it again; since such men[q] usually satisfy themselves in doing

[p] and,] *Not in MS.*

[q] such men] they

any thing to mend the present exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that condition of innocence, from whence they departed with a purpose, perhaps,[r] of returning.

However, this unhappy ill carriage of the earl doth not absolve the court[s] from oversight in treating him no better; which was a great error; and made the king, and all those about him, looked upon as implacable; and so diverted all men from farther thoughts of returning to their duty by such application, and made those who abhorred the war, and the violent counsels in the carrying it on, choose rather to acquiesce, and expect a conjuncture when a general[t] peace might be made, than to expose themselves by unseasonable and unwelcome addresses. The earl of Northumberland, who was gone to Petworth, as is said before, with a purpose of going to the king, if by the lord Conway's negociation, and the earl of Holland's reception, he found encouragement, returned to the parliament, where he was received with great respect, all men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had not done. And the other members, who had entertained the same resolutions, changed their minds with him, and returned to their former station: and the two earls who yet remained at Oxford, shortly after found means to make their peace at Westminster[u]; and returned again to their own habitation[v] in London, without farther mark of displeasure, than a restraint, for a time,[x] from coming to the house of peers, or being trusted in their counsels.

And likewise the earls of Bedford and Clare.

[r] perhaps,] *Not in MS.*
[s] the court] the king's council
[t] general] universal
[u] at Westminster] *Not in MS.*
[v] habitation] habitations
[x] for a time,] *Not in MS.*

BOOK VII.

1643. The transactions of the committee of the two houses in Scotland.

The committee from the two houses of parliament, which was sent into Scotland in July before, in the distraction of their affairs, when sir William Waller was defeated, and the earl of Essex's army unserviceable, as is remembered, found that kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their reception, that they had called an assembly of their kirk, and a convention of their estates,[y] without, and expressly against, the king's consent, and without any colour of law; for the time, when, by their late act of parliament, they might of right challenge those meetings, was not come by almost a year; and the king had refused to convene them sooner. That[z] kingdom was at unity and peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their neighbours; and the government of all affairs in their hands who were to be confided in; and they again ruled and disposed by a few, who were throughly engaged in the counsels and discomposures in England; for all those who were visibly affected to the king's service, or disaffected eminently to the persons in authority there, were fled the kingdom: and they who stayed behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same affections; of which a full declared zeal, and goodwill to the parliament of England, was a common evidence.

So that the committee found as good a welcome as they could wish, and all men disposed to gain their good opinion:[a] a committee was appointed, both out of the convention of estates, and the assembly, "to treat with them, and to make such con-

[y] their estates,] the estates, (which is the parliament,)

[z] That] The

[a] their good opinion:] a good opinion with them:

" clusions, as might be thought necessary to advance " the peace and happiness of both kingdoms." These men complied with them, in their full sense of the sad condition of the affairs of England, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes which should befall them: they said, " they well understood how " much the fate of Scotland was involved in what " should befall the parliament of[b] England; and " that if the king prevailed by force, and, by the " power of his army, oppressed those friends, who " had expressed a tenderness formerly towards them, " they had reason to expect the same army should " be applied to the revenge of those indignities they " would easily persuade his majesty, he had suffered " from that his native kingdom: and therefore they " needed no arguments to persuade them to com- " miserate the estate of their brethren of England; " or to convince them, that their case was their own, " and their mutual safety bound up together: but " that those politic arguments and considerations " would have no influence upon the people, who had " such a natural affection and loyalty to their sove- " reign, as no earthly consideration would be able to " prevail with them to lessen their obedience to- " wards his majesty; and that, albeit there was no " visible party and faction, that appeared in the " kingdom for the king, yet that there were many " well wishers to him, and maligners, in their hearts, " of the present reformation; who, as soon as there " should be any preparation for an army to march " into England, would be ready, upon the specious " arguments of duty to his majesty, and of peace to

[b] of] in

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"their country, and might be able to give great disturbance to the expedition, or to disquiet the realm, "when the most eminently affected were marched "towards the relief of their distressed neighbours; "except some obligation of conscience were laid "upon the people; who only preferred what they "called their piety to God, before their inclination to "their prince, and the setting up the kingdom of "Jesus Christ, before the vindication of a temporal "jurisdiction."

A covenant proposed by the Scots between the two kingdoms, and agreed to.

For such an expedient, therefore, they proposed, "that a covenant might be agreed upon between the "two kingdoms, for the utter extirpation of prelacy, "which that kingdom was satisfied to be a great obstruction to the reformation of religion; and the "two houses of parliament had discovered a sufficient aversion from that government, by having "passed a bill for their utter abolition, and in the "place thereof to erect such a government, as should "be most agreeable to God's word, which they "doubted not would be their own presbytery; and "that the people being cemented together by such "an obligation, would never be severed and disjoined "by any temptation."

There was an easy consent, from the committee of the English, to any expedient that might throughly engage the other nation; and so a form of words was quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and marriage between the parliament and the Scots, in all such particulars, as were most like to be unacceptable to the king; and this form being presently communicated to the convention of estates, and the assembly, as soon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much solemnity,

as was necessary to shew their temper and resolution, and to gain [c] the consent of the two houses at Westminster, whither it was despatched with all imaginable celerity, and a signification, "that that "people were in such a forwardness to advance, "that they would be in England as soon as they "could be reasonably expected." And it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon their [d] discipline since [e] the late commotions, and the cunning [f] presage and foresight of that people, there [g] was nothing requisite to their march, but the calling them together. 1643.

Many were of opinion, that this engagement was proposed "rather to decline being engaged in the quar- "rel, than out of hope or imagination that the two "houses would concur with them; for though there "had been a bill passed, before the last treaty with "the king, to that purpose, yet they well knew that "most of the peers, and persons of quality and in- "terest in the other house, were willing to depart "from that overture. Besides, amongst [h] those who "raged jointly against episcopacy, there were so "many opinions, that it would be no less difficult to "establish their presbytery, than to root out the "other government, to which they intended by their "covenant equally to oblige them: so that upon this "proposition, which was according to the known "temper of that nation, they should preserve them- "selves plausibly, and without seeming to desert "their confederates, from bearing any part in the "present troubles. However, it would visibly take "up so much time, that if there were no ebb in the

[c] gain] provoke
[d] their] the
[e] since] of
[f] cunning] wise
[g] there] that there
[h] amongst] that amongst

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"king's prosperity and success, he might well finish "his work, and this interposition be interpreted for "a politic stratagem to amuse the English." But if this was their stratagem, they met with people too frank hearted, and not scrupulous[i] to contribute towards it: for the draught of the covenant no sooner came to Westminster, but they shewed a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well because it was not yet known what success the earl of Essex would have in the relief of Gloucester, which was like to have a shrewd influence upon men's affections and consciences, as that they might seem to use all necessary deliberation and caution, for the information of their judgments in a new case, that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical fabric of the kingdom, they transmitted it to their assembly of divines, to return their opinion "of the lawfulness of taking it in point of "conscience."

The assembly, besides that it was constituted of members who had all renounced their obedience to their king, and submission to the church of England, by their appearance and presence in that convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to dissent from the current opinion of the house of commons: for doctor Featly, (upon whose reputation in learning they had raised great advantages to themselves,) having made many speeches in the assembly in the behalf of "the order of bishops, and their "function, and against the alienation of church-lands, "as sacrilege," and especially inveighed against "the "liberty that was taken in matter of religion, by "which so many sects were grown up to the scandal

[i] not scrupulous] unscrupulous

" and reproach of the protestant doctrine, if not of " Christianity itself," had so far incurred their displeasure, and provoked their jealousy, that an ordinary fellow (so well confirmed in spirit, that they feared[k] not his failing or conversion) was directed to make application to him in cases of conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient credit with him, (which was no hard matter,) to intimate to him, " that he had a sure and unquestionable conveyance " to Oxford, or that he was to go thither himself, " and if he had any occasions to use his service thi- " ther, he would faithfully execute his commands." The doctor, believing the messenger to be sincere, and the king's affairs standing then prosperous, gave him letters for the archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, who waited on his majesty; and by this artifice, the same instrument received two or three letters from him, pretending they were still sent by infallible hands; and brought them always to those persons by whom he was intrusted in the work of his imposture.

The letters contained many apologies for himself, " for being engaged in such a congregation, to which " he submitted purely out of conscience, and for the " service of the king and church, in hope that he " might be able to prevent many extravagancies, and " to contain those unruly spirits within some bounds " of regularity and moderation;" of his endeavours that way, he gave many instances; and sent copies of what he had said in justification of episcopacy, the liturgy, and the established government, and concluded with a desire to his grace, " to procure a good " opinion from the king towards him, and some bi-

[k] feared] doubted

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"shopric or deanery for his recompense." About the time that this agitation was in Scotland, and very little before this covenant was transmitted, these letters were produced, and a charge against that doctor, "for betraying the trust reposed in him, and adhering to the enemy;" and thereupon the poor man was expelled the assembly of divines, both his livings (for he had two within a very small distance of London) sequestered, his study of books and estate seized, and himself committed to a common gaol, where he continued to his death; which befell him the sooner, through the extreme wants he underwent; so solicitous was that party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

This fresh example the *assembly of godly and learned divines* had before their eyes when this covenant was sent to them for their consideration, and speedy resolution; and according to the haste it required, that clergy returned within two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing "they had received full[1] "satisfaction to their doubts in the debate, and that "they were fully convinced of the lawfulness and "piety of it." Having received so absolute an approbation and concurrence, and the battle of Newbury being in that time likewise over, (which cleared and removed more doubts, than the assembly had done,) it stuck very few hours with both houses; but being at once judged convenient and lawful, the

[1] full] *Not in MS.*

lords and commons, and their assembly of divines, met together at the church, with great solemnity to take it, on the five and twentieth day of September; a double holyday, by the earl of Essex's return [m] to London, and this religious exercise.

It is taken and subscribed by the lords and commons and their assembly of divines, Sept. 25.

There, two or three of their divines went up into the pulpit successively, not to preach, but to pray; others, according to their several gifts, to make orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "that this oath was such, and in the matter "and consequence of it of such concernment, as it "was truly worthy of them, *yea* of those kingdoms, "*yea* of all the kingdoms of the world: that it could "be no other, but the result and answer of such "prayers and tears, of such sincerity and sufferings, "that three kingdoms should be thus born, or rather "new born, in a day: that they were entering upon "a work of the greatest moment and concernment "to themselves, and to their posterities after them, "that ever was undertaken by any of them, or any "of their forefathers before them. That it was a "duty of the first commandment, and therefore of "the highest and noblest order and rank of duties; "therefore must come forth attended with choicest "graces, fear, humility, and in the greatest simplicity, and plainness of spirit, and [n] respect of those "with whom they covenanted. That it was to advance the kingdom of Christ here upon earth, and "make Jerusalem once more the praise of the whole "earth, notwithstanding all the contradictions of "men;" with many such high expressions, as [o] can

[m] return] triumphant return [n] and] in [o] as] which

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hardly be conceived, without the view of the records and registry that is kept of them.

It will be here most necessary, that posterity may be informed of the rare conclusion, in which two nations, with such wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calculated also[p] for the meridian of a third kingdom, (for Ireland is likewise comprehended in it,) to insert this league and covenant in the precise terms in which it was received, and entered into; which was in these words.

A solemn[q] *league and covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

A copy of the covenant.

"We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citi-
"zens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons
"of all sorts, in the kingdom of England, Scotland,
"and Ireland, by the providence of God living under
"one king, and being of one reformed religion, having
"before our eyes the glory of God, and the advance-
"ment of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Je-
"sus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's
"majesty and his posterity, and the true public li-
"berty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein
"every one's private condition is included; and call-
"ing to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, con-
"spiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of
"God, against the true religion, and professors there-
"of, in all places, especially in these three kingdoms,

[p] also] *Not in MS.*

[q] *A solemn* &c.] *In the hand-writing of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

"ever since the reformation of religion, and how "much their rage, power, and presumption are of "late, and at this time, increased and exercised, "(whereof the deplorable estate of the church and "kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the "church and kingdom of England, and the danger- "ous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, "are present and public testimonies,) we have now "at last, (after other means of supplication, remon- "strance, protestations, and sufferings,) for the pre- "servation of ourselves and our religion from utter "ruin and destruction, according to the commenda- "ble practice of these kingdoms in former times, "and the example of God's people in other nations, "after mature deliberation, resolved and determined "to enter into a mutual and solemn league and co- "venant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of "us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most "high God, do swear,

1. "That we shall sincerely, really, and constant- "ly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our "several places and callings, the preservation of the "reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doc- "trine, worship, discipline, and government, against "our common enemies; the reformation of religion "in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doc- "trine, worship, discipline, and government, accord- "ing to the word of God, and the example of the "best reformed churches; and we shall endeavour "to bring the churches of God in the three king- "doms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in "religion, confession of faith, form of church-govern- "ment, directory for worship, and catechising; that "we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren,

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" live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to " dwell in the midst of us.

2. " That we shall, in like manner, without respect " of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, " prelacy, (that is, church-government by archbi- " shops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, " deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all " other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hie- " rarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, " and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to " sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest we " partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in dan- " ger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord " may be one, and his name one in the three king- " doms.

3. " We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, " and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour, " with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve " the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and " the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and " defend the king's majesty's person and authority, " in the preservation and defence of the true religion, " and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may " bear witness, with our consciences, of our loyalty; " and that we have no thoughts or intentions to di- " minish his majesty's just power and greatness.

4. " We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour " the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, " incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by " hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the " king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from " another, or making any factions or parties among " the people, contrary to this league and covenant; " that they may be brought to public trial, and re-

"ceive condign punishment, as the degree of their "offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme "judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others "having power from them for that effect, shall judge "convenient.

5. "And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace "between these kingdoms, denied in former times "to our progenitors, is by the good providence of "God granted unto us, and hath been lately con- "cluded and settled by both parliaments, we shall, "each one of us, according to our places and inter- "est, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in "a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that "justice may be done upon the wilful opposers "thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent ar- "ticles.

6. "We shall also, according to our places and "callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, "and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all "those that enter into this league and covenant, in "the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall "not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by what- "soever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be di- "vided, and withdrawn from this blessed union and "conjunction, whether to make defection to the con- "trary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable in- "difference or neutrality in this cause, which so "much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the "kingdoms, and the honour of the king; but shall, "all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly "continue therein, against all opposition, and pro- "mote the same according to our power, against all "lets and impediments whatsoever. And what we "are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we,

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" shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely " prevented or removed; all which we shall do as in " the sight of God.

" And because these kingdoms are guilty of many " sins, and provocations against God, and his son " Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present dis- " tresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profess " and declare, before God and the world, our un- " feigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and " for the sins of these kingdoms; especially, that we " have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable be- " nefit of the gospel, that we have not laboured for " the purity and power thereof; and that we have " not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, " nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are " the causes of other sins and transgressions so much " abounding amongst us: and our true and unfeigned " purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and " all others under our power and charge, both in " public and in private, in all duties we owe to God " and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go " before another in the example of a real reforma- " tion; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and " heavy indignation, and establish these churches and " kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant " we make in the presence of Almighty God, the " searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to per- " form the same, as we shall answer at that great " day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be dis- " closed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to " strengthen us by his holy Spirit, for this end; and " to bless our desires and proceedings with such suc- " cess, as may be a deliverance and safety to his peo- " ple, and encouragement to other Christian churches,

"groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of anti-
"christian tyranny, to join in the same, or like asso-
"ciation and covenant, to the glory of God, the en-
"largement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the
"peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and
"commonwealths."

As soon as this solemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr. Henderson, (the sole ecclesiastical commissioner from the kingdom of Scotland,) who magnified what they had done, and assured them "of great success after it, by the experience of that "nation, who, from their union in their first covenant, "found nothing hard they proposed to themselves;" and told them, "that were that covenant now painted "upon the wall within the pope's palace, it would "doubtless put him into Belshazzar's quaking con-"dition;" the speaker and commons (having first set their hands to the covenant, after they had taken it) returned to their house; and observing that many of their members were that day absent, the cause whereof was easy to be guessed, they ordered, "that, as "soon as they came into the house, the covenant "should be tendered to them; and whosoever re-"fused to take it, should be proceeded against, as a "disaffected person, in such manner as the house "should think fit."

The covenant ordered to be taken by others, especially by the city.

They[r] farther made a special order, "that all the "ministers of parish-churches within London and "Westminster, the suburbs, and the whole line of "communication, should read and explain the cove-"nant to their several congregations, and stir them "up, the next fast day, to the cheerful taking of it;"

[r] They] And they.

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and particular care was taken, that all the students of the inns of court should be persuaded to receive it. But, over and above these general directions, there was a particular ceremony and application to recommend this covenant to the city and corporation of London, and another use to be made of it. The covenant was not only to bring, but to keep men together, and the taking it had only inclined the Scots to march to their assistance; they were to have one hundred thousand pounds advanced to them, and paid at Edinburgh, before they could [s] stir; and how to advance this great sum, was not easy to resolve. All their ordinances for levying of money were expired; [t] their issues and disbursements so vast, that no income was sufficient; their exchequer was exhausted, and even their public faith bankrupt: such anticipations upon all kind of receipts, for monies borrowed and already spent, that they had no capital for future security.

The judicature of the house of peers (though their number was but ten, for there was no more at the sentence of justice Berkley) had helped them all they could. Justice Berkley, who had been committed by them to the Tower, shortly after the beginning of the parliament, upon a charge of high treason, and since the beginning of the war, permitted [u] to sit as sole judge in the king's bench one whole term, was now brought to judgment; and by their lordships fined the sum of twenty thousand pounds, and made incapable of any place of judicature; and upon [x] abatement of half, and his liberty,

[s] could] would
[t] expired;] spent;
[u] permitted] permitted by them
[x] upon] upon an

he paid the other ten thousand pounds together, to those persons they appointed to receive it; which, since all fines are due to the king alone, and cannot be disposed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was sentenced. Baron Trevor, who was fined for the same offence, and suffered still to continue the same office, in which he had committed his misdemeanour, yielded them as much more. But these petty sums were disposed before they were received, and were but small drops to quench the great drought they sustained: so that the reputation and security of this covenant was, amongst other uses, to bring in money too.

To[y] that purpose, a committee of lords and commons, with some of their divines of the assembly, was sent to the guildhall, where the mayor had called a common council for their reception, to recommend to them "the wonderful advantage and strength "their party should gain by taking, and being united "in, this covenant; and the desperate condition they "were like to be in without it: if the Scots came "not to their assistance, which, without this obliga- "tion, they could not do, they were in danger to be "overwhelmed by the enemy; or at least to make "a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace with "them; which yet they could not tell how it would "be observed and kept. On the other hand, by this "famous accession of strength of a whole nation, "they should undoubtedly be able to master the war, "and to make those who had been the causers of it, "defray the charge; and so all the public debts be- "ing discharged out of the estates of delinquents and

[y] To] And to

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" malignants, the kingdom would not be at all im-
" poverished, and the peace, which should hereafter
" be made with the king, would be sure to be invio-
" lably observed by the strength of this union; and
" therefore that it could not be purchased at too dear
" a rate.

" It was," they said, " neither covetousness, nor
" want of affection and zeal to their relief, that the
" Scots, who took their cause to heart as their own,
" desired an advance of money before they drew their
" army into England, but pure necessity, and the
" poverty of that kingdom, already exhausted by
" their late expeditions, and keeping their soldiers
" together for the good of this. And if there had
" been money enough in that country to have been
" procured upon the public stock and revenue, or the
" mortgage of private estates, to which all men were
" forward for the public good, their love to their bre-
" thren here was such, that they would neither have
" asked nor received money for their assistance, after
" it had proved effectual; much less, before the yield-
" ing it. For evidence of which frank and brotherly
" inclination, they freely offered the engagement of
" their own estates, for the repayment of the money
" that should be advanced:" which was the first time that ever land in Scotland had been offered for security of money, borrowed[z] in the city of London. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the covenant, magnified the Scottish nation, with all imaginable attributes of esteem and reverence, " a nation, that
" had engaged itself to God in a higher way, in a
" more extraordinary way, than any nation this day

[z] borrowed] *Not in MS.*

"upon the face of the earth had done; a nation, "that had reformed their lives for so small a time, "more than ever any people, that they knew of, in "the world had done; a nation, that God had ho- "noured by giving as glorious success unto, as ever "he did unto any:" and very earnestly desired the loan of a hundred thousand pounds. The rhetoric and the zeal prevailed; a hundred thousand pounds was promised, and shortly provided, and sent to Edinburgh; and the assurance of the Scots coming so full, that they were looked upon as masters of Newcastle already. With such an alacrity all these things were transacted.[a]

That violent party in the parliament, which never intended any peace with the king, and had more desperate mutations in their purposes, than they avowed, even amongst those who concurred with them in all they desired, did not think themselves secure in the affection of the people, nor in those who had the greatest trust in their affairs. They had seen the great changes in the houses, in the city, and in the country, upon their late ill successes, the defeat of Waller, and the loss of Bristol: and though the earl of Essex still adhered to them, yet they saw he was not pleased, nor favoured one of those men upon whom they most depended; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by him, or in his confidence, were men of such principles as they liked not,[b] or who desired no other alterations in the court or government, but only of the persons who acted in

[a] transacted.] *The state of the king's party at Oxford which follows in MS. C., is here omitted. It will be found in Appendix D.*

[b] such principles as they liked not,] no principles which they liked,

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it: therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greatest dejection of spirit, and when they looked upon themselves as near[c] swallowed up by the king's power, to move, "that they might send into Scot-"land to their brethren there, to join with them, "and to assist them with an army, that they might, "by such a conjunction, have a support, to make "them[d] so considerable, as to be treated with, and "to receive conditions which might preserve them "from ruin:" which proposition, being for so common an interest and benefit, had received a general concurrence; and so that committee of both houses had been sent into Scotland, to put them in mind "of their joint concernment, and how impossible it "would be for the Scots long to enjoy the great "concessions they had obtained from the king, when "the parliament of England, by whose friendship, "power, and authority, they had obtained them, "should be oppressed, and forced to yield to such "conditions for their particular preservations, as the "king would think fit to give them." But they were[e] not a little startled, when they found this

[c] near] *Not in MS.*

[d] a support, to make them] an appui that might make them

[e] But they were] *This short paragraph appears in the margin of MS. B., and in a different hand from that of lord Clarendon's, who had originally written,* and as they may merit by accepting; and therefore that the parliament expected and desired that they would forthwith give them such an assistance as might be sufficient to preserve them both, which could be no other way than by immediately sending a good army into England, which would countenance and support their friends in the north, and keep the earl of Newcastle from being able to march towards London on that side; whilst the king encompassed them on the other, which was the present design. Sir Harry Vane was one of the commissioners, and therefore the other need not be named, since he was all in any business where others were joined with him. He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, *as in line 22,*

message had obliged them to a present expense of a hundred thousand pounds, before there was any visible relief given them; and saw themselves involved in new obligations of guilt, and to purposes they really never intended.[f]

There hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the progress of these distractions, than that this covenant did with such extraordinary expedition pass the two houses, when all the leading persons in those councils were at the same time known to be as great enemies to presbytery, (the establishment whereof was the main end[g] of this covenant,) as they were to the king or the church. And he who contributed most to it, and, in truth,[h] was the principal contriver of it, and the man by whom the committee in Scotland was entirely and stupidly governed, sir Harry Vane the younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the covenant, and the presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purposes of other men with wonderful sagacity, whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*, that no man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hambden, he was inferior to no other

page 291, *the intermediate part being taken from MS. C.*

[f] never intended.] abhorred.

[g] main end] sole end

[h] and, in truth,] and who in truth

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man, in all mysterious artifices. There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation, which was thought to excel[i] in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing their idol presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest, and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority that resolved to persecute presbytery to an extirpation; and, in process of time,[k] very near brought their purpose to pass.

The nation of Scotland, in general, had been so fully satisfied in all that they could pretend to desire, that they were very well disposed to be spectators of what was done in England, without engaging themselves in the quarrel; and though there were some powerful men amongst them, whose guilt would not suffer them to believe that they could be otherwise secure, than by the king's want of power to call them to justice, yet their number was not thought so great, as to be able to corrupt the people into a barefaced act of rebellion: nor had they any such face of authority, as to invite them to it. Without a parliament, they could not propose it; the king had absolutely refused to call a parliament, and it was yet above a year to come, before a parliament could be assembled without the king's consent; and in that time, the king might have the better of his enemies. However,[l] the commissioners of the parliament had not been long at Edinburgh, before they

[i] which was thought to excel] *in MS.* which excelled

[k] in process of time,] *Not*

[l] However,] *Not in MS.*

prevailed with the council to call a parliament; which duke Hamilton, and others, who pretended great devotion to the king, and were of the council, had promised the king to oppose, and said, "they "were powerful enough to prevent it[m]." When it came to the point, duke Hamilton, being, one way or other, persuaded himself, persuaded others, "that "the absolute refusal to suffer a parliament to be "called, would not quiet the debate, nor secure the "king, but more inflame those who desired it; who "would take some other time, when many of them "who opposed it should be absent, to propose it; and "so would carry it: and that therefore they were "better be absent at first, whereby the others might, "without opposition, send out their summons for a "parliament to assemble, at the day they thought "fit; and that,[n] as they who would serve the king "would not be there, so they should prevail with as "many others as they could, not to be there like-"wise; whereby the number which appeared would "be so inconsiderable, that they would not dare to "sit, but perfectly[o] disperse; and this disappoint-"ment would for ever quash that design, and ren-"der those who advised it odious to the people; "as men who desired illegally to engage the nation "in unjustifiable ways, to disturb the public peace."

A summons was accordingly sent out to call a parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, those of the nobility and gentry, who did really desire to serve the king, applied themselves to duke Hamilton, (whose advice and orders

A parliament summoned by the covenanters in Scotland.

[m] it] *Not in MS.*
[n] that,] then,
[o] perfectly] presently

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the king himself had required them to observe; unhappily still believing him to be faithful,) to know what they should do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, "that they should "take an opportunity to meet together, and bring "their friends with them, whereby they might make "a good body of horse, and so, with their arms in "their hands, they would declare against the le-"gality of that parliament, and the meeting in it:" and named a fit opportunity to him for such a meeting at the funeral of a lady, which was to be within some days, when, according to the custom of that people, great numbers of persons of quality use to assemble, to do honour to the dead in the last obsequies. He told them, "he believed it must come "shortly to that remedy, but conceived it not yet "time, and that such a meeting would frighten the "people, and increase the number in parliament, and "make many resort to them for their directions." He likewise said,[p] "he had changed his former opi-"nion, concerning their own being absent at that "time of the meeting of the parliament, since their "mere absence would not be discountenance enough, "and that they who sat, would carry the reputation "of a parliament, and the people would be guided "by them, if there were nothing but their absence "to work upon their inclinations and affections."

He proposed therefore to them, "that they would[q] "all resolve to be present, and take their places; "and that, when the house should be sat, and any "man should stand up to propose the taking any "business into consideration, he (the duke) would

[p] He likewise said,] And he said,

[q] would] might

" first make his protestation against proceeding in " so illegal a convention, and then they should all " make the same protestation; and he did hope, " that the number of the protesters would be great " enough to dissolve the meeting; and thus they " should put the best end to the matter that could " be desired: but if it should succeed otherwise, " then would be the time to withdraw and put them- " selves in arms; towards which he would make the " best preparation he could; and desired them to do " the like." The earl of Kinoul, and some others, made exceptions against this expedient, and pressed the former meeting at the funeral, till the duke told them, " the king liked the other way better;" and pulled a letter out of his pocket, which he had received from his majesty, and read them so much of it, as contained his approbation, " that they should " meet in the parliament;" in which[r] determination they could not but acquiesce, though they thought at the same time, that his majesty was betrayed.

The parliament met at the day; and duke Hamilton, according to his promise, took an opportunity to say somewhat that seemed to imply a protestation against the meeting; upon which, many of the lords, who had been always most engaged against the king, were very warm; and demanded, " that " he should declare himself clearly, whether he did " protest against the parliament;" whereupon his brother the earl of Lanrick, who was secretary of state to the king, stood up, and said, " that he hoped " that noble lord's affection to his country was bet- " ter known, than that any man could imagine he

[r] in which] with which

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" would protest against the parliament of the king-
" dom ;" and then the duke explained, and excused himself; and said, " he meant no such thing :" and so they declared, " that they would treat with the " commissioners, who were sent from the parlia-
" ment of England ;" and appointed commissioners for that purpose.

Some are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the war against the king; but that, as a few men cozened the parliament at Westminster, by persuading them, " that " they desired only a safe peace," till, by multiplication of indignities, they made it impossible to make a peace that would appear safe; so there was as small a number in Scotland, that overreached the parliament there, by persuading, " that they never " intended to do any thing against the king, but " that it would be too ingrateful a thing, and render " them very odious to the whole English nation, if, " after they had received so many obligations from " the parliament there[s], to whose protection they " owed their religion, and all that they enjoyed, " they should refuse so much as to treat with them, " and to assist them, by their interposition, to pro-
" cure a good peace for them with the king; which " would be a great honour to them; and would be " as great an obligation to his majesty, as to the " parliament." That this was all that was in their thoughts; and that they would avoid any engagement in a war, not by rejecting the proposition, but by making such demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the parliament at Westmin-

[s] there] *Not in MS.*

ster[t]. Thereupon they told the commissioners from that[u] parliament, "that it would be impossible to "engage their[v] nation in a joint concurrence with "them, against the king, but by the influence and "authority of their kirk; and that it would be as "impossible to procure the consent of their kirk, ex- "cept by making it evident to them, that the go- "vernment of the church in England should be re- "duced to the same model with theirs in Scotland; "and that episcopacy should be totally extirpated; "and that deans and chapters should be utterly "abolished; without which," they said, "they could "never think their own government securely esta- "blished; but if such a promise might be solemnly "made, their kirk would be throughly engaged, and "the nation, to a man, would enter into the quar- "rel."

Sir Harry Vane was not surprised with the proposition, which he had long foreseen, and came resolved to pay their own price for their friendship. Thereupon, as hath been already said,[x] the covenant was prepared, and other propositions made for the present furnishing a great sum of money, to enable them to begin their levies; and many other[y] extravagant conditions proposed on the Scots' part[z], for the payment of the army, and other vast expenses, that they did not believe the commissioners would yield, or that the parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of money, or

[t] at Westminster] *Not in MS.*
[u] that] the
[v] their] that
[x] as hath been already said,] *Not in MS.*
[y] other] *Not in MS.*
[z] on the Scots' part] *Not in MS.*

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honour, made any delay;[a] and they came provided with some letters of credit, that as little time might be lost as was possible, in making all necessary preparations. The covenant was the matter of difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greatest friends, both in the parliament and the army, had not any mind to change the government of the church; to which the people of England were not generally disaffected.

Sir Harry Vane therefore (who equally hated episcopacy and presbytery, save that he wished the one abolished with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being established, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the kingdom) carefully considered the covenant, and after he had altered and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow commissioners, signed the whole treaty; whereby it was provided, "That the covenant should be taken "throughout all his majesty's dominions; that a "committee of the Scots should always sit with the "close committee at Westminster for the carrying "on of the war with equal authority; that there "should be no treaty of peace with the king, without the joint consent of the parliaments of both "kingdoms;" and many other particulars, very derogatory to the honour of the English nation; and with all possible expedition sent it to the close committee at Westminster; in the time of their consternation, and before the relief of Gloucester; which

The substance of the treaty between the English commissioners and the Scots.

[a] made any delay;] was insisted upon;

transmitted it presently back to them, allowed and confirmed.

And thereupon the parliament at Edinburgh resolved to raise a great army, and to invade England; and their old general Lesley, who had so solemnly promised the king, not only "never to bear "arms against him, but to serve him, let the cause "be what it would," without any hesitation undertook the command of it. All this time, duke Hamilton looked on, and sometimes sat with them; and when the first proclamation was prepared, in the king's name, for a general rendezvous of all men, from such an age to such an age, at such a time and place, that so their army might be presently formed, the earl of Lanrick put the king's signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said proclamation: and all this being done, both the brothers left Scotland, to give the king an account at Oxford of all the proceedings: many of the nobility of that kingdom, who did heartily wish well to the king, being gone[b] from thence, after the first day's meeting of their parliament, (when[c] the duke had broken his promise to them,) and informed his majesty at large of that which they thought foul infidelity.

The Scots raise an army under Lesley.

The discomposures,[d] jealousies, and disgusts, which reigned at Oxford, produced great inconveniences; and as, many times, men in a scuffle lose their weapons, and light upon those which belonged to their

Divisions amongst the councils at Oxford.

[b] being gone] having come away

[c] when] and when

[d] The discomposures,] *Originally in MS.:* These discomposures, *alluding to the portion of the History immediately preceding, which is omitted in the text, but may be seen in Appendix D.*

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adversaries, who again arm themselves with those which belonged to the others, such, one would have thought, had been the fortune of the king's army in the encounters with the enemy's: for those under the king's commanders grew insensibly into all the licence, disorder, and impiety, with which they had reproached the rebels; and they,[e] into great discipline, diligence, and sobriety; which begot[f] courage and resolution in them, and notable dexterity in achievements and enterprises. Insomuch as one side seemed to fight for monarchy, with the weapons of confusion, and the other to destroy the king and government, with all the principles and regularity of monarchy.

In the beginning of the troubles, the king had very prudently resolved with himself, to confer no honours, or bestow any offices or preferments, upon any, till the end and conclusion of the service; and if that resolution had continued, he would have found much ease by it, and his service great advantage. The necessity and exigents of the war, shortly after, made some breach into this seasonable resolution, and, for ready money to carry on the war, his majesty was compelled, against his nature, to dispense some favours, which he would not willingly have suffered to be purchased, but by virtue and high merit. Then all men thought money and money-worth to be all one; and that whosoever, by his service, had deserved a reward of money, had deserved any thing that might be had for money. And when it was apparent, that the war was like to prove a business of time, it was thought unreason-

[e] they,] they again,

[f] begot] begat

able, that the king should not confer rewards on some, which he was able to do, because he could not do it on all, which was confessedly out of his power. And so, by importunity, and upon the title of old promises, and some conveniences of his service, he bestowed honours upon some principal officers of his army, and offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no just exceptions could be taken, yet many were angry to see some preferred; and not so much extolling their own merit and service, as making it equal to those whom they saw advanced, every man thought himself neglected and slighted, in that another was better esteemed.

And this poison of envy wrought upon many natures, which had skill enough not to confess it: the soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongst themselves, and very unsatisfied with one another, (there being unhappy animosities amongst the principal officers,) yet they were too well united, and reconciled against any other body of men; and thinking the king's crown depended wholly on the fortune of their swords, believed no other persons to be considerable, and no councils fit to be consulted with, but the martial; and thence proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the council of state, to which, by the wholesome constitution of the kingdom, the militia, garrisons, and all martial power is purely and naturally subordinate; and by the authority and prudence whereof, provision could be only reasonably expected, for the countenance and support of the army.

The general and prince Rupert were both strangers to the government and custom of the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the nobility, and the king's

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ministers,[g] or with their rights: and the prince's heart was so wholly set upon actions of war, that he not only neglected, but too much contemned, the peaceable and civil arts, which were most necessary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, somewhat like that which Plutarch says of the Roman auguries,[h] "that Octavius lost his life by "trusting to them,[i] and that Marius prospered the "better, because he did not altogether despise them,[k]" may be said of popularity: though he that too immoderately and importunately affects it (which was the case of the earl of Essex) will hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectedly despises or neglects what is said of him, or what is generally thought of persons or things, and too stoically contemns the affections of men, even of vulgar,[l] (be his other abilities and virtues as great as can be[m] imagined,) will, in some conjuncture of time, find himself very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reason cannot be assigned for the misfortunes that hopeful young prince (who had great parts of mind, as well as vigour of body, and an incomparable personal courage) underwent, and the kingdom thereby, than that unpolished roughness[n] of his nature; which rendered him less patient to hear, and consequently less skilful to judge of those things, which should have guided him in the discharge of his important trust: and[o] making an unskilful judgment of the unuse-

[g] the king's ministers,] public ministers,

[h] the Roman auguries,] soothsaying,

[i] them,] it,

[k] them,] it,

[l] of vulgar,] of the vulgar,

[m] as great as can be] what can be

[n] that unpolished roughness] that roughness and unpolishedness

[o] and] and thence

fulness of the councils, by his observation of the infirmities and weakness of some particular counsellors, he grew to a full disesteem of the acts of that board; which must ever be respected,[p] as long as the regal power is exercised in England.

I cannot[q] but, on this occasion, continue this digression thus much farther, to observe, that they who avoid public debates in council, or think them of no[r] moment, upon undervaluing the persons of some counsellors, and from the particular infirmities of the men, the heaviness of this man, the levity of another,[s] the weakness and simplicity of a third, conclude, that the advice and opinions of many[t] are not requisite to any great design, are exceedingly deceived; and will perniciously deceive others who are misled by those conclusions. For it is in wisdom, as it is in beauty, a face that, being taken in pieces, affords scarce one exact feature, an eye, or a nose, or a tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, against which a visible just exception may not[u] be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulness and vivacity in the whole, may constitute an excellent beauty, and be more charming[x] than another, whose symmetry is more faultless; so there are many men, who in one[y] particular argument may be unskilful, in another[z] affected, who may seem to have some[a] levity, and[b] vanity, or formality, in ordinary and cursory conversation, (a very crooked rule to measure any man's

[p] ever be respected,] be accounted venerable,
[q] I cannot] And I cannot
[r] no] less
[s] another,] that,
[t] the advice and opinions of many] their advice and opinions
[u] may not] cannot
[x] charming] catching
[y] one] this
[z] another] that
[a] some] *Not in MS.*
[b] and] or

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abilities, as giving a better measure of the humour, than of the understanding,) and yet in formed counsels, deliberations, and transactions, are men of great insight, and wisdom, and from whom excellent assistance may be contributed.

No[c] question, all great enterprises and designs, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the survey and disquisition of several faculties and abilities, equally[d] for the decision of sharper and more phlegmatic understandings. And we often hear, in debates of great moment, animadversions of more weight and consequence, from those whose ordinary conversation may not be[e] so delightful, than from men of more sublime parts. Certainly Solomon well[f] understood himself, when he said, *In the multitude of counsellors there is safety.* And though it be[g] confessed, that reason would be better discovered, and stated, and right[h] conclusions easier made by a few, than by a greater number, yet when the execution depends on many, and the general interpretation so much depends on the success, and the success on the interpretation, we see those counsels usually[i] most prosperous, whereof the considerations and deliberations have been measured by that standard which is most publicly acknowledged and received. He has had[k] but small experience in the managing affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himself some very good and useful conclusions, which have therefore only miscarried[l], because they were not communi-

[c] No] And no
[d] equally] and equally
[e] may not be] is not
[f] well] very well
[g] be] were
[h] right] *Not in MS.*
[i] usually] *Not in MS.*
[k] He has had] And he hath had
[l] miscarried] succeeded amiss

cated to those, who thought they had reason [m] to believe themselves competent parties to the secret. There was seldom ever yet that public-heartedness sunk into the breasts of men, as to be [n] long willing to be left out in those transactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore men have been often willing enough, any single advice should miscarry, of whatsoever general concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of some one man, who has thought their approbation not worth the providing for. And though the advantage [o] of secrecy and despatch seems to favour a small number of counsellors, [p] yet (except in some [q] few cases, which in their own [r] nature are to be both [s] consulted, and acted together, and the full execution whereof may be by a few) I am not sure that the inconveniency will be greater by the necessary delays, occasioned by the number, [t] or even by such a discovery, as may be supposed to proceed from the levity of any of them, [u] than by wanting the approbation and concurrence of those, [w] who will unavoidably know it soon enough to add to, or take from, the success, at least the reputation, of any public business [x]. Much [y] of the negligence and disrespect towards the civil

[m] thought they had reason] had reason

[n] as to be] that they were

[o] advantage] objection

[p] a small number of counsellors,] a small number, and a reservation of communicating,

[q] some] those

[r] own] *Not in MS.*

[s] both] *Not in MS.*

[t] the necessary delays, occasioned by the number,] a necessary delay,

[u] of any of them,] of a counsellor, *MS. likewise adds:* (futile and malicious natures ought not to be supposed to be admitted into that rank of men,)

[w] those] *MS. adds:* (admitting there could be no benefit from their information,)

[x] of any public business] *Not in MS.*

[y] Much] And from this root much

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councils proceeded from these unhappy causes[z]. For as all corporations, tribes, and fraternities, suffer most by the malignity of some of their own members; so the jealousy and indisposition of some counsellors contributed much to the disregard which fell upon the order; and in them, upon the king.

Among[a] those who were next[b] the king's trust, and to whom he communicated the greatest secrets in his affairs, there were some, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without such an application to court as usually ushered in those promotions, were ascended to that preferment; and were believed to have an equal interest with any, in their master's estimation. These[c] were sure to find no more charity from the court, than from the army; and they[d] having had lately so many equals, it was thought no presumption, freely to censure all they did, or spoke;[e] what effect soever such freedom had upon the public policy and transactions. It were to be wished, that persons of the greatest birth, honour, and fortune, would take that care of themselves by education, industry, literature, and a love of virtue, to surpass all other men in knowledge, and all other qualifications, necessary for great actions, as far as they do in quality and titles, that princes, out of them, might always choose men fit for all employments, and high trusts; which would exceedingly advance their service; when the reputation and respect of the person carries somewhat with it that facilitates the business. And it cannot easily be ex-

[z] from these unhappy causes] *Not in MS.*
[a] Among] Amongst
[b] next] nearest
[c] These] And these
[d] they] *Not in MS.*
[e] spoke;] spake;

pressed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight and burden of the envy, which naturally attends upon those promotions, which seem to be *per saltum*, how great straits and difficulties such ministers are forced to wrestle with, and by which the charges, with which they are intrusted, must proportionably suffer, let the integrity and wisdom of the men be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience[f] and dexterity, to carry a man through those straits, easily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him, (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand rude[g] attempts, and dishonour the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too mean[h] for such a trust,) and between[i] the caution, that his nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his great[k] place; which will expose him to much more contempt than the former; and therefore is[l], with a more exact guard,[m] to be avoided: the errors of gentleness and civility being much more easily reformed, as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation. 1643.

The best provision that such men can make for their voyage, besides a lasting stock of innocency,[n] and a firm confidence in God Almighty, that he will never suffer that innocency to be utterly oppressed, or notoriously defamed, is, an expectation of those

[f] patience] patience, temper
[g] rude] unchaste
[h] mean] vile
[i] between] *Not in MS.*
[k] great] *Not in MS.*
[l] is] *Not in MS.*
[m] guard,] guard upon a man's self,
[n] lasting stock of innocency,] a stock of innocence that cannot be impaired,

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gusts and storms of rumour, detraction, and envy; and a resolution not to be over sensible of all calumnies, unkindness, or injustice; but to believe, that, by being preferred before other men, they have an obligation upon them, to suffer more than other men would do; and that the best way to convince scandals, and misreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deserved them. There is [o] not a more troublesome passion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright conscience; when men cannot endure to be spoken ill of, if they have not deserved it: in which distemper, though they should [p] free themselves from the errors, or infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly discover others, of which they had never been suspected. In a word, let no honest man, that is once entered into the list, think [q] he can by any skill, or comportment, prevent these conflicts and assaults; or that he can, [r] by any stubborn or impetuous humour, suppress and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as purgatory he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend upon Providence, and time, for a vindication; and by constantly [s] performing all the duties of his place [t] with justice, integrity, and uprightness, give all men cause to believe, he was worthy of [u] the first hour; which is a triumph very lawfully [x] to be affected.

[o] There is] And there is
[p] should] *Not in MS.*
[q] let no honest man, that is once entered into the list, think] let no man think that is once entered into this list,
[r] that he can,] *Not in MS.*
[s] constantly] *Not in MS.*
[t] his place] his place to the end
[u] of] of it
[x] lawfully] lawful

As these distempers, indispositions, and infirmities of particular men had a great influence upon the public affairs, and disturbed and weakened the whole frame and fabric of the king's designs; so no particular man was more disquieted by them, than the king himself; who, in his person, as well as in his business, suffered all the vexation of the rude, petulant, and discontented humours of court and army. His majesty now paid interest for all the benefit and advantage he had received in the beginning of the war, by his gentleness, and princely affability to all men, and by descending somewhat from the forms of majesty, which he had, in his former life, observed with all punctuality. He vouchsafed then himself to receive any addresses, and overtures for his service, and to hold discourse with all men who brought devotion to him; and he must be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humours of all; and how frivolous and unreasonable soever the cause was, his majesty was put both to inform and temper their understandings. No man would receive an answer but from himself, and expected a better from him, than he must have been contented to have received from any body else. Every man magnified the service he had done, and his ability and interest to do greater, and proposed honour and reward equal to both in his own sense. And if he received not an answer to his mind, he grew sullen, complained, "he was neglected," and resolved, or pretended so, "to quit the service, and "to travel into some foreign kingdom." He is deceived that believes the ordinary carriage and state of a king to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his greatness. They are the outworks,

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which preserve majesty itself from approaches and surprisal. We find that the queen of Sheba was amazed at the meat of Solomon's table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cupbearers, &c. as so great instances of Solomon's wisdom, that *there was no more spirit in her.* And no doubt, what prince soever[y] inconsiderately departs from those forms, and trappings, and ornaments of his dignity and preeminence, will hardly, at some time, be able to preserve the body itself of majesty, from intrusion, invasion, and violation.

And let no man think, that the king had now no hard task to master these troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of royal severity would easily have dispersed these clouds. The disease was too violent and catching, and the contagion too universal, to be cured by that remedy; neither were the symptoms, or effects, the same in all constitutions. It cannot be imagined, into how many several shapes men's indispositions were put, and how many artifices[z] were used to get honours, offices, preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness, which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One man had been named for such a place, that is, himself and his friends had given it out, that he should have it, when, it may be, he was too modest to pretend to it; and upon this vogue he had a title; and if it should be conferred upon another, it would be a mark of the king's disfavour to him; and thereby he should lose the ability, and credit, without which he could do no farther service. Another suggested, that his

[y] what prince soever] whosoever

[z] how many artifices] the many artifices which

friends and companions in consort had all received some obligation, and if he alone should remain without some testimony of favour, it would be a brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No man was so hardhearted to himself, as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired; and he commonly had best success, who prosecuted his own wishes with most boldness and importunity; neither was there a better, or another reason for some men's preferment, than that they had set their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modest natures, to find forward men had so good fortune, that the want of success begun [a] to be imputed to want of wit.

I remember, about this time, [b] a person of good quality, and of a good name in action, came to me very pensive, and told me, "how conscientiously he "had served the king, without any private designs, "or other thoughts, than the discharge of his own "duty, and rendering the performance of that duty "acceptable to his majesty; yet that, to his un-"speakable discomfort, he found, he had been mis-"represented to the king, and that his majesty had "entertained a sinister opinion of him, and desired "me to learn what the ground of the prejudice was, "and by my good testimony to endeavour to remove "it." I had a very good opinion of the person, and believed the king had so, and therefore persuaded him, that the jealousy was groundless, and pressed to know, from whence he received those impressions; he excused himself in the particular, and assured me, "that he had his advertisement from a sure hand,

[a] begun] began

[b] about this time,] once,

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" which was to be concealed, and not doubted; that, " upon my inquiry, I would find it true, though he " could not imagine the cause." I promised him, " I " would press the king very heartily in it, and if " there were any thing that stuck with him, I pre- " sumed his majesty would be so gracious to let me " know it;" and accordingly, having shortly after an opportunity to wait on his majesty, I told him the true narrative of what had passed, with my observation of the general comportment of that gentleman, and besought his majesty, " if any ill offices had " been done him, or that any prejudice towards him " was lodged in his royal breast, that he would gra- " ciously vouchsafe to tell me what it was, and that " he would allow him an access, to clear himself " from any imputations." The king very cheerfully assured me, " that he had not only a very good opi- " nion of that gentleman, but that he was most as- " sured, he had no real suspicion to the contrary;" and therefore bid[c] me " proceed to the other part of " my business." I told him, " I had no more, and " that I was sure, I should make a very happy man " by satisfying him of what I found." Then said the king, " You are not throughly instructed, for the " other half of this business must be a suit." I replied, " if that were so, I was yet more ignorant " than I suspected myself." The gentleman shortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealousy of being in umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant assurance to the contrary, with the mention of some expressions the king had used, which were indeed very gracious, he seemed to receive it with

[c] bid] bad

such a countenance and gusto, that I verily believed he had had his heart's desire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, "that I had "made him abundantly happy, and that he doubted "not there was no just ground for the other reports, "but only the malice of those who wished them "true; yet, that they had lessened his credit abroad, "even with his friends; and that he found there was "no way to keep up his reputation and interest in "the world, whereby he might be able to do the "king service, (which was all he looked after,) but "the receiving some testimony of the king's good "opinion, which would be a public evidence, that "the other discourses were false." I was surprised, and as much out of countenance, as he should have been; and advised him "to patience, and to expect "the king's own time, and method, rather than to "quicken him by any importunity, which would "give an ill relish to any obligation." He would not understand that philosophy, but shortly after found some other means to press the king very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without some implication, "that, without some such "earnest of his majesty's goodness, he should not be "able to continue in his service;" which probably was one of the modestest addresses, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the king's trouble was so great, that he many times suffered more vexation[d] from the indisposition and humours of his own people, than from the enemy, or the apprehension of their counsels:

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[d] vexation] vexation and trouble

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which hath made me enlarge this digression so much; conceiving it no less to be a part of history, and more useful to posterity, to leave a character of the times, than of the persons, or the narrative of the matters of fact, which cannot be so well understood, as by knowing the genius that prevailed when they were transacted.

The best expedient his majesty could find to dispel these fumes, was motion and action; and therefore, though the season of the year was too far spent, and too many officers hurt, for the taking the field again, besides that many regiments were returned to their old posts, (as the Welsh to defend their own country from the incursions from Gloucester, and to reduce some towns in Pembrokeshire, which, lying on the sea, by the help of the parliament ships, begun to fortify and gather strength,) yet he resolved his forces about Oxford should not lie still.

In the beginning of October, prince Rupert, with a strong party of horse, foot, and dragoons, marched into Bedfordshire, and took the town of Bedford, and in it a party of the enemy, who used it only as a strong quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance sir Lewis Dives, whilst he fortified Newport Pannel, where he hoped to fix a garrison; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the northern parts, and restrained the commerce between London and their associated counties; which they well understood; and therefore, upon the first news of it, the earl of Essex removed his head-quarters from Windsor to St. Alban's; and the trained bands of London, and their auxiliary regiments, marched again to him for his

recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a mistake of orders from Oxford, sir Lewis Dives drew off his forces from Newport Pannel; and the enemy presently possessed themselves of it, and made it a very useful garrison. Upon which, prince Rupert fortified Tossiter, a town in Northamptonshire, and left a strong garrison there; which, though it infested the enemy somewhat, and took great revenge upon those counties, which had expressed a violent affection to the parliament, in truth, added little strength to the king; for he lost many horse by the labour of duty, the greatest part of the body of his horse being forced to quarter near that place, for the security of the foot, till the works about the town were in such a forwardness, that they needed not fear their neighbours at St. Alban's. 1643.

In the mean time, the power of the parliament was least manifest in the west, where their party was reduced to a lowness, and confined within narrow limits after the taking of Exeter; the gentlemen of that county having been generally well devoted to the king's service, though never able safely to declare it, at least to appear in a posture of opposing the violence of the other party. Prince Maurice found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by levies of money, men, and all offices that could be expected; insomuch as, within very few days after the surrender of that town, his army of foot, by the new levies, contained no fewer than seven thousand men, (which was a body the west had not before seen,) besides a body of horse, at least proportionable to the other; and all in excellent equipage for action. And at the same time, colonel John Digby was before Plymouth, with above

The king's affairs in the west.

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three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, and had taken a work from the enemy of great importance; called Mount Stamford in honour of that earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the town, and which commanded some part of the river; the loss whereof gave the town a marvellous discouragement.

The first error the prince committed after the reducing of Exeter, was staying too long there before he advanced, for victorious armies carry great terror with them, whilst the memory and fame of the victory is fresh. The next, that he moved not directly towards Plymouth, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his approach: for the town was full of distraction, and jealousy amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an enemy. It was a rich and populous corporation, being, in time of peace, the greatest port for trade in the west; and, except Bristol, then more considerable[e] than all the rest. There was in it a castle very strong towards the sea, with good platforms and ordnance; and little more than musket-shot from the town, was an island with a fort in it, much stronger than the castle; both which were, before the troubles, under the command of a captain, with a garrison of about fifty men at the most; and were[f] only intended for a security, and defence of the town against a foreign invasion; the castle and the island together having a good command of the entrance into the harbour, but towards the land there was very little strength. This command was in the hands of sir Jacob Ash-

[e] then more considerable] greater [f] were] was

ley, and as unprovided to expect or resist an enemy, as the other castles and forts of the kingdom; [g] less for the receiving a recruit; there being only ordnance and ammunition, without any other provisions for the support of the soldiers within the walls; [g] and the garrison itself being by time, marriages, and trade, incorporated into the town, and rather citizens than soldiers; so that sir Jacob Ashley being sent for to the king, before his setting up his standard, as soon as there was any apprehension of a party for the king in Cornwall, after the appearing of sir Ralph Hopton, and those other gentlemen there, the mayor and corporation of Plymouth quickly got both the castle and island into their own power.

It will be wondered at by many hereafter, that those, and the like places of strength in England, being under the command of persons entirely of his majesty's nomination, were not put into a good posture of defence, when it grew first evident, that there would be shortly occasion to use them; for according to the old story in Ælian, that when in one of the states of Greece, Micippus's sheep brought forth a lion, it was generally and justly concluded, that that portended a tyranny, and change of the state from a peaceable to a bloody government; so when the two houses of parliament first produced a sovereign power, to make, and alter, and suspend laws, before they raised an army, or made a general, or declared war; when that mild and innocent sheep, that legal regular convention of a sober and

[g] less—the walls;] there being only ordnance and ammunition, without any other provisions for the support of the soldiers within the walls; less for the receiving a recruit;

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modest council, had once brought forth that lion which sought whom he might devour, it might be easily and naturally concluded by all wise and sober men, that the blessed calm, and temperate state of government, by which every man eat the fruit of his own vine, was at an end; and rapine, blood, and desolation, to succeed; and therefore that those holds should, in reason, have been then provided for.

But I shall say here once for all, that from the time that there was any reasonable jealousy of a war, it was never in the king's power to mend the condition of any [h] of those places; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or secrecy soever, the inconvenience he must have sustained by it, besides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he desired. I have very ill described the times we have passed through, if that be not apparent; and that it was rather an error of the former times, that those places needed any supply, than that it was not applied to them in the succeeding.

The parliament was very glad Plymouth was thus secured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all corporations, by shewing they thought them capable of the greatest trusts, as because they could not, in truth, more reasonably confide in any other, they committed the government thereof to that mayor; who was well enough instructed, what respect to pay to their committee; which was appointed to reside there for his assistance, and to conduct the

[h] any] either

affairs in those parts. Of that committee, sir Alexander Carew was one; a gentleman of a good fortune in Cornwall, who served in parliament as knight for that county, and had, from the beginning of the parliament, concurred in all conclusions with the most violent, with as full a testimony of that zeal and fury, to which their confidence was applied, as any man. To him the custody and government of that fort and island, which was looked upon as the security of the town, was committed; and a sufficient garrison put into it. The mayor commanded the castle and the town, about which a line was cast up of earth, weak and irregular. BOOK VII. 1643.

After the battle of Stratton, and[i] the king's forces prevailing[k] so far over the west, that Bristol was taken by them, and Exeter closely besieged, sir Alexander Carew begun to think his island and fort would hardly secure his estate in Cornwall; and understood the law so well (for he had had a good education) to know, that the side he had chosen would be no longer the better, than it should continue the stronger; and having originally followed no other motives, than of popularity and interests, resolved now to redeem his errors; and found means to correspond with some of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwall, and, by them, to make a direct overture to surrender that fort and island to the king, upon an assurance of his majesty's pardon, and a full remission of his offences. Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, was the next supreme officer, qualified to entertain such a treaty; and he, instantly, by the same conveyance, returned

Sir Alexander Carew treats to surrender the fort of Plymouth to the king's forces, but is surprised.

[i] and] and that

[k] prevailing] prevailed

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him as ample assurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, "that he should not, upon "any defect of forms, (which, upon his engagement, "should be supplied with all possible expedition, to "his own satisfaction,) defer the consummating the "work; which hereafter, possibly, might not be in "his power to effect:" designs of that nature being to be consulted and executed together; for in those cases, according to Mutianus in Tacitus, *Qui deliberant, desciverunt;* and the greatest danger attends the not going on. But he was so sottishly and dangerously wary of his own security, (having neither courage enough to obey his conscience, nor wickedness enough to be prosperous against it,) that he would not proceed, till he was sufficiently assured, that his pardon was passed the great seal of England; before which time, though all imaginable haste was made, by the treachery of a servant whom he trusted, his treaty and design was discovered to the mayor, and the rest of the committee; and, according to the diligence used by that party,[1] in cases of such concernment, he was suddenly, and without resistance, surprised in his fort, and carried prisoner into Plymouth: and from thence, by sea, sent to London; where what became of him, will be remembered in its place.

Shortly after this accident, colonel Digby came before the town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagined, but the people were in great distraction, with the apprehension of the danger they had escaped; and those discoveries bring always that melancholy with

[1] by that party,] *Not in MS.*

them, that men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no man had, to common understanding, better deserved to be trusted, or given less argument for suspicion: and upon such a defection, who could hope to stand free from jealousy? Besides, he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the town, which must subject[m] them to some suspicion, or, at least, make them suspect that they were suspected; and, without doubt, it awakened many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the judgment, that he would not suffer a man to recover the security and comfort of his allegiance, who had so signally departed from it against the light of his own conscience; and that a man, who had been before precipitate against all reason, should perish by considering too much, when precipitation was only reasonable.

The fame of the winning of Exeter, by which a victorious army was at liberty to visit them, and then the loss of Mount Stamford, which was their only considerable fortification to the land, with those other discomposures, wrought a wonderful consternation amongst them; and made them consider, that if they could hold out, and defend their town, the country being all lost, they must lose all their trade, and so from merchants become only soldiers; which was not the condition they contended for. Insomuch as the mayor himself was not without a propensity to send for a treaty, upon which the town might be delivered to the king: and it was by many then believed, that if prince Maurice had then

[m] subject] object

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marched from Exeter before it, that treaty would infallibly have ensued. But when I say it was an error that he did not, I intend it rather as a misfortune than a fault; for his highness was an utter stranger in those parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reason, persuaded first to bend his course to Dartmouth; which was looked upon "as an easy work, and a harbour, which, being "got, would draw a very good trade: and that short "work being performed, Plymouth would have the "less courage to make resistance; and if it should, "it were much fitter for the winter, which was now "drawing on," (for it was more than the middle of September,) "than the other, by reason of the con-"veniency of good accommodation for the soldiers, "near about it; which could not be had about Dart-"mouth."

Upon these reasons, he marched directly to Dartmouth, which, how unfit soever to make a defence against such an army, by the disadvantage of situation, and the want[n] of all those helps which use to make a garrison confident,[o] he found in no temper and disposition to yield; so that he sat down before it. And shortly after, there came so violent a season of rain, and foul weather, that very many of his men, with lying on the ground, fell sick, and died; and more run[p] away. Yet, after near a month's siege, and the loss of many good men, (whereof the same colonel Chudleigh, of whom we spoke[q] before, was one, a gallant young gentleman, who received a shot with a musket in the body, of which he died

Prince Maurice sits down before Dartmouth; and takes it:

[n] want] absence
[o] to make a garrison confident,] to contract a confidence,
[p] run] ran
[q] spoke] spake

within few days, and was a wonderful loss to the king's service,) it was given up on fair conditions; and then the prince, having placed a garrison there, under the command of colonel Seymour, a gentleman of principal account and interest in Devonshire, lost no more time, but, with all convenient expedition, marched to Plymouth; which was not now in the state it had been; for the parliament, being quickly informed how terrible an impression the loss of almost all other parts of the west had made upon the spirits of that people, had before this time sent a recruit of five hundred men, and a Scotch officer to be governor; who eased the mayor of that unequal charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the prince sat down before it with an army much inferior, after he had joined with colonel Digby, to that with which he had marched from Exeter to Dartmouth; yet with much confidence to reduce that town, before the winter should be over.

Sits down before Plymouth too late.

Though the king's success, and good fortune, had met with a check in the relief of Gloucester, and the battle of Newbury, yet his condition seemed mightily improved by the whole summer's service. For whereas he seemed before confined, upon the matter, within Oxfordshire and half Berkshire, (which half was lost too upon the loss of Reading in the spring,) and the parties, which appeared for him in other counties, seemed rather sufficient to hinder a general union against him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, master of the whole west; Cornwall was his own without a rival; Plymouth was the only place, in all Devonshire, unreduced; and those forces shut

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within their own walls: the large rich county of Somerset, with Bristol,[r] entirely his: in Dorsetshire, the enemy had only two little fisher-towns, Poole and Lyme; all the rest was declared for the king. And in every of these counties, he had plenty of harbours and ports, to supply him with ammunition, and the country with trade. In Wiltshire the enemy had not the least footing, and rather a town or two in Hampshire, than any possession of the county; that people being generally undevoted to them: the whole principality of Wales, except a sea town or two in Pembrokeshire, was at his devotion; and that unfortunately[s] obstinate town of Gloucester only kept him from commanding the whole Severn. The parliament was nothing stronger in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the marquis of Newcastle had been forced to rise as unfortunately from Hull, as the king had been from Gloucester, yet he had still a full power over Yorkshire, and a greater in Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, than the parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now strong enough to make war; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greatest reasons that there was no peace. And therefore many believed, that, what appearance soever there was of obstinacy, the winter would produce some overtures of accommodation; and that all the noise of preparation from Scotland, was only to incline the king to the greater condescensions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent desire of the people, as the best reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and

[r] Bristol,] *MS. adds:* the second county of the kingdom,

[s] unfortunately] unfortunate

traduced the king with a purpose of bringing[t] foreign forces to awe and impose upon his own subjects, would not now have the hardiness to bring in a stranger nation to invade their country, and to compel that people, by whose affections they would be thought to be guided, to submit to changes they had no mind to receive. And the arrival of the count of Harcourt, as extraordinary ambassador from the crown of France, was looked upon as an expedient to usher in some treaty, and to remove those ceremonies, and preliminary propositions, which, by reason of the mutual declarations and protestations against each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The conte d'Harcourt arrives ambassador from France.

The king himself was not without expectation of notable effects from this embassy; for the state of France seemed to be much altered from what it was at the beginning of these troubles. Cardinal Richelieu, who, the king well knew, had more than fomented the troubles both in England and Scotland, was now dead; and the king of France himself likewise; and those old ministers of state who had been long in the bastile, or banished, were now set at liberty, and recalled, and in favour; the queen mother made regent; who professed great personal kindness to the queen of England, and so great a sense of the indignities the king and she suffered, that she seemed sensible, that France had contributed too much to them, and to think, that the interest, as well as honour, of that crown was concerned to buoy up the monarchy of England; with intimations, "that the "king himself should direct what way he would be

[t] bringing] bringing in

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"served by that crown." The first evidence they gave of meaning as they said, was the revocation of monsieur la Ferté Senneterre, the ambassador then resident in England; who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fiercest managers of the parliament, and done the king all imaginable disservice; insomuch as he had industriously persuaded some English priests and Jesuits, to engage those of the Romish persuasion, by no means to assist the king; with a full assurance, "that the parliament would "allow them liberty of conscience." This minister his majesty desired might be recalled; which was not only suddenly done, but a private intimation likewise given [u] to our queen, "that she should nominate "what person was to be [x] employed in his place; "who should wholly guide himself by her instruc-"tions:" and her majesty was led to make choice of monsieur le conte d'Harcourt, one of the principal persons of that kingdom, being a prince of the house of Lorraine, and so allied to the king, and grand escuier; [y] and had been their late fortunate general in Catalonia, where he had given the Spaniard the greatest defeat they had received; which was not thought an unseasonable qualification in an ambassador, whose business was to mediate a peace.

His reception at London was with much solemnity, that he might not find there was any absence of ceremony or state, by the absence of the king; yet when he had a safe conduct for Oxford, his carriages were stopped at the going out of London, and his own coach, as well as all other places, searched with great and unusual rudeness, upon suspicion that he

[u] given] *Not in MS.*
[x] was to be] should be
[y] escuier;] escuier of France;

carried letters; and though he expostulated the affront, as a high violation of his honour and privilege, he received no manner of reparation, or the officer, that did it, any reprehension; which made many believe that he would have been very keen in the resentment. The king expected that, by this ambassador, the crown of France would have made a brisk declaration on his majesty's behalf; and if the parliament should not return to their regular obedience, that they should have found no correspondence or reception in that kingdom; and that they would really assist his majesty, in such a manner as he should propose; which declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the city of London, in respect of their trade; but more with the Scots, who were understood to have an especial dependence upon France. 1643.

When the ambassador returned from his audience at Oxford, where he stayed not many days, he sent a paper to the earl of Northumberland, by which he desired his lordship, "to impart to the messieurs of "parliament, that he had made known to their ma- "jesties, the affectionate desire the king his master, "and the queen his mistress, had to contribute all "good offices, in the procurement of peace and tran- "quillity in this kingdom; to which he found the "desires of their majesties well disposed; and there- "fore he desired to know, whether [z] his lordship "thought the two houses did correspond in the same "intention: if they did, after they should make him "understand the subject that had obliged them to "take up arms, he would interpose to pacify the dif- "ferences, by such expedients, as should be most

[z] whether] if

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" conformable to the ancient laws and customs of " the realm."

After the earl of Northumberland had informed the house of peers of this representation, it was, at a conference, imparted to the house of commons, and an answer was framed by joint agreement, to be returned by the earl of Northumberland to the ambassador. In the form of it, they gave him the title of *prince of Harcourt,* and *grand escuier of France;* but omitted that of *extraordinary ambassador in England,* because it did not appear to the parliament, by letters of credence, or the sight of his instructions from the king, or queen regent of France, that he was by them employed extraordinary ambassador into England.

The answer itself was, " that the lords and com- " mons in parliament did, with all due respects, ac- " cept of the affectionate desires of the king, and " queen regent of France, to contribute good offices " towards the procuring a happy peace; and that, " when the said monsieur le prince d'Harcourt should " make any such propositions to the parliament, by " authority from their majesties of France, they " would give then such an answer to the same, as " might stand with the interest of both kingdoms, " and their late solemn league and covenant." The lords proposed, " that there might be a committee " appointed to treat with the ambassador:" but the commons would by no means consent to it, " till he " should make it manifest, that he had authority " from his master to treat with the parliament;" and withal they declared, " that if he had, at any time, " any thing farther to offer to them, they would not " receive it from any particular member of either

"house; but that he should apply himself by writ-
"ing, or otherwise, to the speaker of either or both
"houses of parliament; otherwise, they would hold
"no correspondence with him." The ground of this resolution was, that they might draw from the ambassador (which they presumed could not be without the privity and approbation of the king) an address, and acknowledgment that they were a parliament, against the freedom whereof, and consequently the present being, his majesty had, by his late proclamation, declared. So the ambassador, after a journey or two to Oxford, and some perfunctory addresses to the houses, returned to France *re infecta*, and without the least expression of dislike, on his master's behalf, of their proceedings.

Returns into France without any good effect to the king.

Some [a] were scrupulous in believing that France really intended to repair the mischief it had done; and observed, that though there were some plausible compliances, in point of ceremony, with particular persons, after the death of the former cardinal; yet, that the main counsels were carried on upon the rules and directions he had left; and that the cardinal Mazarin, a person who had been [b] of the highest trust with the other, wholly now presided over those counsels; and considered, how much France might imagine it would conduce to their interest, that the king of England should not have all his subjects in perfect obedience, lest he might offer to be an arbiter of their great differences: I say, these men believed count Harcourt's instructions privately were no other, than the last ambassador's; whom the king had caused to be recalled. And it cannot

[a] Some] They

[b] who had been] *Not in MS.*

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be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealousy, had arguments enough to increase it.

When this extraordinary ambassador was appointed to come for England, Mr. Mountague was in the court of France, very much trusted by both their majesties, and by his quality, and near relation to so great a trust, his long conversation in that court, and a singular dexterity in his nature, adorned with excellent parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favour and particular estimation of the queen regent, and in the opinion of the cardinal; to whom he had been useful. With this gentleman most of the conclusions had been transacted, which were preparatory to the ambassador's journey; and it was thought fit, that he should at the same time come into England; and, in such a disguise, as might easily conceal a man better known in France than in his own country, in the ambassador's train find a safe passage to Oxford; which was carried with so much secrecy, that, besides to the ambassador himself, he was known to very few of his retinue. The count of Harcourt was not landed four and twenty hours, but in his journey towards London, a messenger from the parliament apprehended Mr. Mountague, and carried him a prisoner to the houses; by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though the ambassador made a great show of resenting it, he never claimed him in such a manner as to procure his enlargement; which made men believe the cardinal liked well his confinement, and desired not he should be either at Oxford or Paris.

At the ambassador's first coming to Oxford, after general overtures, and declarations of the resolution

of that crown, "to give his majesty all possible as- "sistance for his reestablishment," he proposed a league offensive and defensive with the king. His majesty, that knew well such an offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from thence take an occasion to refuse those things he should propose, appointed a committee of his council (according to the usual course) to treat with the ambassador, upon all necessary articles, which should attend such a treaty; declaring an inclination to enter into such a league as was proposed; and thereupon desired "a "present loan of money, and a supply of a good "proportion of arms and ammunition; and likewise "that the crown of France would declare against "the[c] subjects of England and Scotland, who should[d] "persist in rebellion; according to an article rati- "fied in the last treaty[e] now in force." 1643.

The ambassador, who, it seems, expected that there should have been more pauses in the overture of the league offensive and defensive, for the present declined the treating with the committee; alleging, "that he was, upon the matter, a minister of both "their majesties; and was to receive command "from them, and wholly to attend their service; "and therefore that he desired wholly to communi- "cate with their majesties themselves:" and shortly after waved any farther mention of the league, with an affected[f] compliment, "that it would not appear "a generous thing, to press the king to any act in "this his distress, which he had made scruple of "consenting to heretofore, when the fortune of both "crowns were equally prosperous: but that his

[c] the] his
[d] should] would
[e] treaty] treaty of the league
[f] an affected] a French

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"master and mistress would frankly contribute all "that could be reasonably expected from them, to- "wards his majesty's restoration and establishment; "and afterwards expect such a return of affection "from his majesty, as the greatness of the obliga- "tion should merit in his princely estimation." And at the same time, the queen regent and cardinal positively denied to the lord Goring, ambassador extraordinary then from his majesty in France, that ever the count of Harcourt had any instruction to mention a league offensive and defensive. These particular carriages, and his not resenting the indignities offered to him by the parliament, made many men believe, that this ambassador, notwithstanding all the specious professions, was sent rather to foment, than extinguish, the fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his stay in England, he did not, in the least degree, advance the king's service; and, at his return, left the parliament more united amongst themselves against the king, and the Scots more advanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the same time likewise a French agent in Scotland; who produced no alteration in the affections of that people, to the king's advantage.

The return[h] of the three earls, formerly mentioned,[g] to London in the winter, who so solemnly applied themselves to the king in the spring, contributed exceedingly to the union of the two houses at Westminster. The other two stayed longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permission. But the earl of Holland,[h] when he saw

[g] formerly mentioned,] *Not in MS.*

[h] The return—earl of Holland,] *Originally thus in MS.:*

his place in the bedchamber conferred upon the marquis of Hertford, in much discontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the king's quarters; and before he was missed at Oxford, intelligence was brought that he had rendered himself to the parliament at London; and to make his return the more conscientious, he declared, as hath been said,[i] "that the ground of his deserting "them formerly, and going to the king, was a hope "to incline his majesty to a treaty of peace; but "that he found he was mistaken in the temper of "the Oxford councils; and that the king had still "about him some counsellors, who would never "consent to a safe and well-grounded peace; and "that he heard they had persuaded the king to "make a cessation with the rebels in Ireland; which "affected his conscience so much, that, though he "had been sure to have lost his life by it, he would "return to the parliament;" professing exemplary

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I must not here forget one accident, which no doubt (how much soever neglected then) contributed exceedingly to the union at London; the return of the earl of Holland to the parliament. After his first coming to Oxford, when he had kissed the king and queen's hands, he and the other two lords, who came together, the earl of Bedford and the earl of Clare, attended the king in the army, and at the battle of Newbury charged with prince Rupert in his troop. When the king retired to Oxford, the earl of Holland applied himself to both their majesties, and had a fair reception and admission to speak with the king in private when he desired. Whether he had received any private invitation and promise of being restored to the place he formerly had in their majesties' favours, and his old condition in court, I know not; but after a short stay in and about Oxford, and when he found the eyes of the court moved not towards him, as they had done, though the queen was gracious to him, and the king always content to hear what he would say, and when he saw his place *&c. as in line ult. p.* 332.

[i] as hath been said,] *Not in MS.*

BOOK VII. fidelity to them, if they would again receive him into their favour.

1643. It may be, his discourse of Ireland, or the king's averseness to peace, wrought upon very few; but the evidence of the king's aversion so far to forgive and forget former trespasses, as to receive them into favour and trust again, made a deep impression upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing members of both houses, that is, of them who had governed, and done as much mischief as any, either out of apprehension that the king would prevail, or that they should not prevail soon enough, or the animosity against those who had outgrown their government, and followed new leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally proposed, or out of some motions of conscience, were quite weary of the parliament, and desirous to obtain a fair admission to the king; and looked only upon the footing which those doves, which went first out of the ark, should find; and surely, if that expedient had been dexterously managed, it had been the most probable way to have drawn the parliament into such contempt, that it must have fallen of itself: a way,[k] that in no civil war, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a body, that is not formed by policy, with any avowed and fixed principles of government, but by the distempered affections, ambition, and discontent of particular persons, who rather agree against a common adversary, than are united to one just interest, can-

[k] a way,] and it is a way,

not so easily be dissolved, as by treating[l] with particular persons, and rending those branches from the trunk, whose beauty and advantage consists only in the spreading. 1643.

The reasons[m] were unanswerable, which the old consul Fabius in Livy, lib. 24. gave, in the case of Cassius Altinius, who, after the defeat of Cannæ, deserted the Romans, and fled to Hannibal, by which he got the city of Arpos; and when the condition of the Romans was again recovered and flourishing, came again to the Roman army, and offered to betray that city into their hands. Many were of opinion, "that he should be looked upon as a common "enemy; and bound, and sent to Hannibal, as a "perfidious person, who knew neither how to be a "friend, nor an enemy." Fabius reprehended the unseasonable severity of those who considered, and judged *in medio ardore belli, tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, "that their principal care "must be, that none of their friends and allies "might forsake them; the next, that they who had "forsaken them, might return again into their obe-"dience and protection: for, *si abire a Romanis "liceat, redire ad eos non liceat*, it could not be, "but the state of Rome, from which,[n] in the late "misfortunes, many had revolted, must become very "desperate."

Such was the king's condition, the number of the guilty being so much superior to the innocent, that the latter could reasonably expect only to be preserved by the conversion and reduction of the former. Neither did the king not foresee, or abhor

[l] treating] tempering

[m] The reasons] And the reasons

[n] which,] whom,

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this expedient; but the temper and spirit of the time was so averse from the stratagem, that it was evident his present loss would be as great, by practising it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. Whatsoever [o] damage his majesty sustained, that unfortunate earl received no acknowledgment, or encouragement from the other party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his estate was sequestered as soon as he left them, so he was now committed to prison, and that sequestration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off, nor himself ever after admitted to his place in their council, notwithstanding all the intercession of very powerful friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

Certainly, [p] there must be thought to be some extraordinary [q] dislike, in the very primary law of nature, of such tergiversation and inconstancy; since we scarce find, in any story, a deserter of a trust or party, he once adhered to, to be long prosperous, or in any eminent estimation with those to whom he resorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident arguments of reason and justice; neither hath it been in the power or prerogative of any authority, to preserve such men from the reproach, and jealousy, and scandal, that naturally attends upon any defection: *I have not found evil in thee, since the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheless, the lords favour thee not*, was the profession of king Achish, when he dismissed David himself from marching with the army of the Philistines; and that expostulation of those lords,

1 Sam. xxix. 6.

[o] Whatsoever] And whatever
[p] Certainly,] And verily,
[q] extraordinary] *Not in MS.*

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wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the heads of these men? will be always an argument[r] to raise a distrust of those who have eminently quitted their party: and the judgment of Fabius himself, which we touched before, of Cassius Altinius, was not much in their favour; for though he reprehended the proposition of sending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded, "that he would have no trust reposed in "him, but that he should be kept in safe custody, "with liberty to do any thing but go away, till the "war was ended; *tum consultandum, utrum defectio prior plus merita sit pœnæ, an hic reditus veniæ.*" As it falls out thus[s] in civil affairs, and the breach of moral obligations, so it happens in spiritual defections, and alterations in religion: for as, among the Jews, the proselytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, "that no proselyte should be "eligible into the court of their sanhedrim;" and in their very conversation, they had a caution of them: *Vel ad decimam usque generationem a proselytis cave,* was an aphorism amongst them. And our own[t] observation and experience can give us few examples of men who have changed their religion, and not fallen into jealousy[u] and distrust, or disreputation, even with those with whom they side; that have made their future life less pleasant and delightsome; which, it may be, happens[x] only because we have rare instances of men of extraordi-

[r] argument] argumentation
[s] As it falls out thus] And as it fares
[t] And our own] So our
[u] jealousy] some jealousy
[x] happens] is

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nary parts, or great minds, who have entertained those conversions.

1643. The lords[y] and commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongst them, than who should most advance the power which was to suppress the king's: new and stricter orders were made for the general taking the covenant; and an ordinance, "that no man should be in any office or "trust in their armies, or the kingdom, or of the "common council of London, or should have a voice "in the election of those officers, but such who had "taken the covenant; nor even they who had taken "the covenant, if they had been formerly impri-"soned, or sequestered for suspicion of malignancy, "or adhering to the king." And that they might as well provide for their sovereign jurisdiction in civil matters, as their security in martial, they again resumed the consideration of the great seal of England. The commons had often pressed the house of peers to concur with them, "in the making a new "great seal; as the proper remedy against the[z] mis-"chiefs, which, by the absence of it, had befallen "the commonwealth;" declaring, "that the great "seal of England, of right, ought to attend upon "the parliament;" in which the peers as often refused to join with them, being startled at the statute of the 25th of Edward III. by which, the coun-

[y] The lords] *Thus in MS.*: The earl of Northumberland was now returned to London from his house at Petworth in Sussex, (where he had resided from the time the other lords left the house, till after the battle of Newbury, in expectation of overtures from Oxford,) and incorporated again into their counsels; and they who had before been very solicitous for peace, laid aside all thoughts towards it. The lords &c.

[z] the] those

terfeiting the great seal of England is, in express terms, declared to be high treason; and it had been in all times before understood to be the sole property of the king, and not of the kingdom, and absolutely in the king's own disposal, where it should be kept, or where it should attend.

The commons vote a new broad seal: the lords concurred with them.

This dissent of the lords hindered not the business; the commons frankly voted, "that a seal should "be provided," and accordingly took order that one was engraven, and brought into their house, according to the same size and effigies, and nothing differing from that which the king used at Oxford. Being in this readiness, and observing the lords to be less scrupulous than they had been, about the middle of November they sent again to them, to let them know, "they had a great seal ready, which should "be put into the custody of such persons as the two "houses should appoint; and if they would name "some peers, a proportionable number of the other "body should join in the executing that trust." All objections were now passed over, [a] and without any hesitation their lordships not only concurred with them to have a seal in their own disposal, but in a declaration and ordinance; by which they declared, "all letters patents, and grants made by the "king, and passed the great seal of England, after "the 22d of May in the year 1642, (which was the "day the lord keeper left the house, and went with "the great seal to York to the king,) to be invalid, "and void in law; and henceforward, that their "own great seal should be of the like force, power, "and validity, to all intents and purposes, as any

[a] passed over,] answered,

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"great seal of England had been, or ought to be; "and that whosoever, after publication of that ordi- "nance, should pass any thing under any other great "seal, or should claim any thing thereby, should be "held and adjudged a public enemy to the state."

At the same time, the earls of Rutland and Bullingbrook, of the peers, Mr. Saint-John, (whom they still entitled the king's solicitor general, though his majesty had revoked his patent, and conferred that office upon sir Thomas Gardner; who had served him faithfully, and been put out of his recorder's place of London, for having so done,) sergeant Wild, (who, being a sergeant at law, had with most confidence averred their legal power to make a seal,) Mr. Brown, and Mr. Prideaux, two private practisers of the law, were nominated "to have the keeping, "ordering, and disposing of it, and all such, and the "like power and authority, as any lord chancellor, "or lord keeper, or commissioner of the great seal, "for the time being, had had, used, or ought to "have." The earl of Rutland was so modest, as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a trust; and therefore excused himself in point of conscience: whereupon they nominated, in his room, the earl of Kent, a man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

The seal then was delivered, in the house of commons, to their speaker; and by him, with much solemnity, the house attending him, to the speaker of the peers, at the bar in that house. The six commissioners were then, in the presence of both houses, solemnly sworn "to execute the office of keepers of "the great seal of England, in all things according "to the orders and directions of both houses of par-

"liament." And thereupon the seal was delivered by the two speakers to them, who carried it, according to order, to the house of the clerk of the parliament, in the old palace; where it was kept locked up in a chest; which could not be opened but in the presence of three of them, and with three several keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the first exercise of this kind of sovereignty, a patent to be sealed to the earl of Warwick, of lord high admiral of England; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the earl of Northumberland, who had been put out of that great office for their sakes, was not restored to their full confidence; others, that he desired not to wear their livery.

1643. The seal delivered to six commissioners.

About the same time, to shew that they would be absolute, and not joint sharers in the sovereign power, they gave an instance of boldness mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The king had published several proclamations, for the adjournment of the term from London to Oxford, which had been hitherto fruitless, for want of the necessary legal form of having the writs read in court; so that the judges at Oxford,[b] who were ready to perform their duty, could not regularly keep the courts there;[c] which else they would have done, notwithstanding the order and declarations published by the two houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the law believing that assumption to be unquestionably out of their jurisdiction. These writs of adjournment had never yet been delivered seasonably, to be read in court, or into the

[b] at Oxford,] *Not in MS.*

[c] there;] at Oxford;

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hands of either of the sworn judges, who yet attended at Westminster; of which there were three in number, justice Bacon in the king's bench, justice Reeve in the common pleas, and baron Trevor in the exchequer; who, how timorous soever, and apprehensive of the power and severity of the parliament, knowing the law and their duties, men believed, would not have barefaced declined the execution of those commands they were sworn to observe. Several messengers were therefore sent from Oxford with those writs; and appointed, on or before such a day, (for that circumstance was penal,) "to find an opportunity to deliver the writs into the hands of "the several judges." Two of them performed their charges, and delivered the writs to justice Reeve, and baron Trevor; who immediately caused the messengers to be apprehended.

The[d] houses, being informed of it, gave direction, "that they should be tried by a council of war, as "spies;" which was done at Essex-house. The messengers alleged, "that they were sworn servants "to his majesty for the transaction of those services, "for which they were now accused; and that they "had been legally punishable, if they had refused to "do their duties; the term being to be adjourned by "no other way." Notwithstanding all which, they were both condemned to be hanged as spies; and that such a sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor men were, within few days after, carried to the old Exchange, where a gallows was purposely set up; and there one of them, one Daniel Kniveton, was without mercy executed; dy-

[d] The] And the

ing with another kind of courage than could be expected from a man of such condition and education, did not the conscience of being innocent beget a marvellous satisfaction in any condition. The other, after he had stood some time upon, or under the gallows, looking for the same conclusion, was reprieved, and sent to Bridewell; where he was kept long after, till he made an escape, and returned again to Oxford. This example begot great terror in all the well affected about London, and so much the more, because, about the same time, an ordinance was made, "that whosoever went to Oxford, or into any "of the king's quarters, without leave from one of "the houses, or a pass from their general, or whoso-"ever had any correspondence with any person in "the king's quarters, by writing letters, or receiving "letters from thence, should be proceeded against as "a person disaffected to the state; and his person "committed, and his estate sequestered; and should "be liable, according to the circumstances, (of which "themselves would be only judges,) to be tried as "spies."

Colonel Fiennes tried for surrendering Bristol, and condemned; but pardoned by the general.

As this made them exceeding terrible to those who loved them not, so, about the same time, they gave another instance of severity, which rendered their government no less reverenced amongst their friends and associates. The brave defence of Gloucester, and the great success that attended it, made the loss of Bristol the more felt by the parliament[e]; and consequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally spoken of, and censured. The which colonel Fiennes having not patience to bear, he de-

[e] by the parliament] *Not in MS.*

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sired, being a member of the house of commons, and of a swaying interest there, "that he might be put "to give an account of it at a court of war, which "was the proper judicature upon trespasses of that "nature." And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon some collateral and circumstantial passages, to procure some of the chief who inveighed against him, to be imprisoned and reprehended. This begot[f] greater passion and animosity in the persons, that thought they suffered unjustly, and only by the authority and interest of the colonel and his father; which, by degrees, brought faction into the house of commons, and the army, according to the several affections and tempers of men.

There were but two prosecutors appeared, one Mr. Walker, a gentleman of Somersetshire, of a good fortune, and, by the loss of that, the more provoked; who had been in the town when it was lost, and had strictly observed all that was done, or said; and the famous Mr. Pryn, who had at first let himself into the disquisition of that business,[g] out of the activity and restlessness of his nature, and was afterwards sharpened by contempt. These two, under pretence of zeal to the kingdom, and that such an irreparable damage to it might not pass away without due punishment, undertook the prosecution; and boldly charged the colonel with cowardice and treachery; and gave several instances of great and high professions, and performances faint, and not answerable; with some mixtures of pride, and love of money, throughout the course of his government. Colonel Fiennes, besides the credit and reputation

[f] begot] begat

[g] disquisition of that business,] *Omitted in MS.*

of his father, had a very good stock of estimation in the house of commons upon his own score; for truly he had very good parts of learning and nature, and was privy to, and a great manager in, the most secret designs from the beginning; and if he had not incumbered himself with command in the army, to which men thought his nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to none in those councils, after Mr. Hambden's death. This made him too much despise those who appeared his adversaries, and others whom he knew to be such, though they appeared not, (for he looked upon sir William Waller as an enemy, who, by his [h] misfortune at Roundway-down, having brought that storm upon Bristol, was industrious to make the second loss to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of courage and conduct,) and being sure, that he was very free from wishing well to the king, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be answered by the having done his best; and that the eminency of his perfect zeal against his majesty would weigh down all objections of disservice to the parliament. 1643.

But notwithstanding all this, after a long and solemn hearing before the court of war, at St. Alban's, where the earl of Essex then lay, which took up many days, he was condemned to lose his head, "for not having defended Bristol so well, and so "long, as he ought to have done." And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the prerogative of the general, under his hand and seal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not

[h] who, by his] whose

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be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an officer of the army; and the shame of it persuaded him to quit the kingdom; so that he went for some time into foreign parts, retaining still the same full disaffection to the government of the church and state, and only grieved that he had a less capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this example as a foundation of great awe and reverence in the army, that the officers might see, that no titles or relations should be able to break through the strict discipline of war. For this gentleman was a person of singular merit, and fidelity to the party that he served, and of extraordinary use to them in those counsels that required the best understandings. Others thought it an act of unadvised severity, to expose so eminent a person, who knew all their intrigues, upon the importunity of useless and inconsiderable persons, to infamy; whilst others considered it as a judgment of Heaven upon a man who had been so forward in promoting the public calamities: and no doubt, it increased much the factions and animosities, both in the parliament and the army; and might have done them farther mischief, if it had not fallen on a man so throughly engaged, that no provocations could make him less of their party, or less concerned in their confederacy.

At this time,[i] nothing troubled the king so much, as the intelligence he received from Scotland, that they had already formed their army, and resolved to enter England in the winter season. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon the faith

[i] At this time,] *Not in MS.*

and most solemn professions of particular men, without whom the nation could not have been corrupted, had deceived him to a man; and he found the same men most engaged against him, who had, with most solemnity, vowed all obedience to him. The[k] circumstance of the time made the danger of the invasion the more formidable; for the earl of Newcastle, lately[l] created a marquis, had been compelled with his army, as much by the murmurs and indisposition of the officers, as by the season of the year, to quit his design upon Hull, and to retire to York; and the garrison of[m] Hull had made many strong infalls into the country, and defeated some of his troops; so that the Scots were like to find a strong party in that large county. However, the marquis sent a good body of horse towards the borders, to wait their motion; and no sooner heard of their march, which begun in January, in a great frost and snow, than himself marched into the bishopric of Durham to attend them. The particulars of all that affair, and the whole transaction of the northern parts, where the writer[n] of this history was never present, nor had any part in those counsels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper person will employ himself in.

(The Scots enter England in Jan. 1643, 4.)

In these straits, the king considered two expedients which were proposed to him, and which his

[k] The] And the

[l] lately] who was lately

[m] of] at

[n] where the writer] *Thus originally in the MS. of his Life, from whence this portion is taken:* where the chancellor of the exchequer was never present, nor had any part in those counsels, are fit for another kind of account, and are foreign to this discourse. In these straits, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed two expedients to the king, which the king liked well, and wished they might both be consulted in the council, &c. *as in p.* 348, *line* 1.

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majesty directed should be both consulted in the council. The one was, "that all the peers who "were then in Oxford, or in the king's service, might "subscribe a letter to the council of state in Scot- "land; whereby it would appear, by the subscrip- "tion, that above five parts of six of the whole no- "bility, and house of peers, were in the king's ser- "vice, and disavowed all those actions which were "done against him, by the pretended authority of "the two houses; which possibly might make some "impression upon the nation of Scotland, though it "was well enough known before[o] to their seducers."

A letter from the peers on the king's side to the council in Scotland.

A letter[p] was prepared accordingly, expressing "the "foulness of the rebellion in England, under the re- "putation of the houses of parliament, and the car- "rying on the same, when they had driven away, by "force, much the major part of the members of "both houses, and expressly against all the laws of "the land:" it put them in mind of "their obliga- "tion to the king," and pathetically concluded "with "conjuring them to desist from their unjust and un- "warrantable purpose; since they[q] could have no "excuse for prosecuting the same, from the au- "thority of parliament." The letter was perused, and debated in the council, and afterwards in the presence of all the peers; and being generally ap- proved without any dissenting voice, it was ordered to be engrossed, and signed by all those peers, and privy-counsellors, who were then in Oxford, and to

[o] before] *Not in MS.*

[p] A letter] *Originally in MS. B.:* The chancellor was ap- pointed to prepare the letter, which he did, expressing therein the foulness, &c.

[q] since they] *Originally thus:* in such a manner, and in those words as are contained in the letter that was then printed, and remains in many hands.

be sent to those who were absent in any of the armies, or in the king's quarters, and to be then sent to the marquis of Newcastle; who, after he had signed it, with those peers who were in those parts, was to transmit it into Scotland by a trumpet; all which was done accordingly. 1643.

Of all the peers who followed the king, there was only one who refused to sign this letter, the earl of Leicester;[r] who, after many pauses and delays, whe-

[r] the earl of Leicester;] *The following part of lord Leicester's conduct is omitted:*- The earl of Leicester was in Oxford, and had been once in council, when the letter was consulted; and when the clerk of the council carried it (according to his office) to him to be signed, he wished him to leave it there for his perusal, and he would consider of it; and the next day calling to him again, he gave the same answer, that he would farther consider of it. Whereupon it was whispered in the court, that he would not put his hand to it, which they who loved him not (which were many of the lords) were glad of; and the more, because the king had it in his purpose to give him some preferment in lieu of the lieutenantship of Ireland, which he thought fit at that time to take from him, and had conferred it upon the marquis of Ormond, who had the command of the army in that kingdom. The chancellor of the exchequer had much kindness for the earl of Leicester, and went to him, and took notice of what was reported about the court; and desired him not to give those who had an evil eye towards him so great an advantage to do him hurt, as his refusal to sign this letter, and so declaring himself to be of a different judgment, if not different affection, from all the counsellors, and all the peers who followed the king, would do; that he had some reason to believe that both the king and the queen had at present some gracious intentions towards him, which he would make himself incapable of, by such an unseasonable contradiction. The reasons he gave why he had forborne to sign it (for he had not yet refused) were not equal to his own reason, which, when uncorrupted by his passion, was very good: that he had been only once present when the design of that letter was consulted, but had not been present when the letter itself was brought to the board, (which he might and ought to have been,) nor had ever seen it, till it was brought to him to be signed: that there were some matters of fact mentioned in it, which, though he believed, he did not know to be true, and some such other exceptions, as were too weak to puzzle his understanding; so

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ther he had not yet digested his late deposal from the lieutenancy of Ireland, to which the marquis of Ormond was deputed, and thought the disobligation of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he thought the king's fortune desperate, and resolved not to sacrifice himself to any popular displeasure, and not to provoke the parliament farther than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpose to be found in their quarters, as shortly after he was, did in the end positively refuse to subscribe the letter; and thereby was the occasion of a mischief he did not intend. For both their majesties, in their secret purpose, had designed him to succeed the marquis of Hertford in the government of the prince; for which he would have been very proper; but upon this so affected a discovery of a nature, and mind, liable to no kind of compliance, the king could not prosecute his purpose; and so the government of that hopeful and excellent prince was committed to the earl of Berkshire, for no other reason but because he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troublesome: a man of any who bore the name of a gentleman, the most unfit for that province, or any other that required any proportion of wisdom and understanding for the discharge of it.

But it was the unhappy distemper[s] of the court at that time, to think that it was no matter who was employed in that office; for the king nor queen were not at all deceived, nor was the earl less fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his

that the chancellor did believe what he wished, that he would have signed it; but whether he had not yet digested, &c. *as in page* 349, *line* 9.

[s] distemper] temper

want of parts (his fidelity there was no cause to suspect) to be of little importance: and a counsellor,[t] much trusted, speaking at that time with the lord Jermyn, "how astonishing a thing it was to all the "nation, to see the prince committed to such a go- "vernor," he smiled, according to his custom, when he could not answer; and said, "it was of no mo- "ment, who had the name and style of governor, "since the king and queen meant to be his gover- "nor, and firmly resolved that he should never be "out of their presence, or of one of them:" when, within little more than a year after, the king found it necessary to sever the prince from himself,[u] and lived not to see him again: and his majesty[x] then found, and lamented, that he had deputed such a governor over him.

The other expedient proposed[y] was, "that since "the whole kingdom was misled by the reverence "they had to parliaments,[z] and believed that the "laws and liberties of the people could not be other- "wise preserved, than by their sole[a] authority, and "that it appeared to be to no purpose to persuade "men that what they did was against law, when "they were persuaded that their very doing it made "it lawful, it would be therefore necessary, and "could be only effectual to convince them, that they "who did those monstrous things were not the par- "liament, but a handful of desperate persons, who, "by the help of the tumults raised in the city of "London, had driven away the major part of the

[t] a counsellor,] *Originally*, the chancellor,

[u] himself,] him,

[x] his majesty] he

[y] proposed] proposed by the chancellor

[z] parliaments,] parliament,

[a] sole] *Not in MS.*

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"parliament, and called themselves the parliament, "whilst they were,[b] in truth, much the less, and "the least considerable part of it; which would "appear manifestly, if the king would issue out a "proclamation, to require all the members who had "left the parliament at Westminster, to repair to "Oxford by such a day; where his majesty would "be willing to advise with them in matters of the "greatest importance, concerning the peace, and "distractions of the kingdom: by[c] this means he "might, in many things, serve himself by their "assistance, and it would evidently appear by the "number of both houses, whose names would be "quickly known and published, how few remained "at Westminster, who carried on the devouring "war, so grievous to the whole kingdom."

The king was at first in some apprehension, that such a conflux of persons together of the parliament, who would look to enjoy the privileges of it in their debates, might, instead of doing him service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some treaty of peace, which would have no effect; yet, whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparation for the war; and though nobody more desired peace, yet he had no mind that a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up persons, and other particulars of honour, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a war in the kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been said before, the governors

[b] whilst they were,] who were,

[c] by] and by

of the parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a peace, to trust any to make politic propositions, which, upon refusal, might have done good, but being consented to had undone them, and frustrated all their designs.

The council seemed much inclined to the expedient, and many conveniences were in view; and it might be reasonably hoped, and presumed, "that persons, who had that duty to obey his majesty's summons, in coming thither, which would be none but such as had already absented themselves from Westminster, and thereby incensed those who remained there, would not [d] bring ill and troublesome humours with them, to disturb that service which could only preserve them: but, on the contrary, would unite, and conspire together, to make the king superior to his and their enemies. And as to the advancing any propositions of peace, which there could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his majesty to oppose, there could be no inconvenience; since their appearing in it would but draw reproach from those at Westminster, who would never give them any answer, or look upon them under any notion, but as private persons, and deserters of the parliament, without any qualification to treat, or to be treated with: which would more provoke those at Oxford, and, by degrees, stir up more animosities between them." The king [e] discovered more of hope than fear from such a convention; and so, with a very unanimous consent and approbation, a proclamation was issued out, containing the true grounds and mo-

The king's proclamation for as-

[d] not] *Omitted in MS.*

[e] The king] And the king

BOOK VII.

1643.

sembling the members of parliament at Oxford.

tives, and mentioning the league of Scotland to invade the kingdom; which was the most universally odious and detestable; and summoned all the members of both houses of parliament, except only such as, [f] having command in his majesty's armies in the north, and in the west, could not be dispensed with, to be absent from their charges, to attend upon his majesty in Oxford, upon a day fixed in January next.

The king was not all this while without a due sense of the dangers that threatened him in the growth and improvement of the power and strength of the enemy, and how impossible it would be for him, without some more extraordinary assistance, to resist that torrent, which, he foresaw, by the next spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not provision accordingly. And finding, by degrees, [g] that it was not in his power to compose the disturbances [h] of England, or to prevent those of [i] Scotland, and abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to subdue his own subjects, he begun [k] to think of expedients [l] which might allay the distempers in Ireland; that so, having one of his kingdoms in peace, he might apply the power of that, towards the procuring it in his other dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an argument that business of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to pervert whatsoever he said or did in it; and therefore he resolved to proceed with that caution, that whatsoever was done in it should be by the counsel of that state,

[f] as,] who,
[g] And finding, by degrees,] When he saw therefore,
[h] disturbances] distractions
[i] of] in
[k] begun] began
[l] expedients] any expedients

who were understood to be most skilful in those affairs. BOOK VII.

1643.

The lords justices, and council, had sent a short petition to his majesty, which was presented to them, in the name of his catholic subjects, then in arms against him; by which they only desired, with full expressions of duty and submission to his majesty, "that he would appoint some persons to hear what "they could say for themselves; and to present the "same to his majesty." Hereupon the king authorized by his commission the lord marquis of Ormond, and some others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the least authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this commission, the marquis, finding that this petition was prosecuted with less ingenuity than it seemed to have been presented, was so far from being indulgent to them under that notion, that he even then advanced against them with his army, and gave them a very signal defeat; which reformed their application, and made it more submiss.

In the mean time (though in all actions and counsels, the lords justices, and council there, had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the parliament) the affairs of that kingdom suffered exceedingly for want of provisions, money, and ammunition, out of England; which the two houses of parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpose, enabled by his majesty to send. Insomuch as that board, by their letters of the fourth of April, this present year, advertised the speaker of the house of commons, "that they had been compelled, for the pre-"servation of the army, to take money from all who "had it, and to wrest their commodities from the

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" poor merchants, whom they had now, by the law " of necessity, utterly undone, and disabled from be- " ing hereafter helpful to them, in bringing them in " victuals, or other needful commodities: and that " there were few of themselves, or others, that had " not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of their " proceedings, so as, what with such hard dealing, " no less grievous to them to do, than it was heavy " to others to suffer, and by their descending, against " their hearts, far below the honour and dignity of " that power they represented under his royal ma- " jesty, they had, with unspeakable difficulties, pre- " vailed so as to be able to find bread for the soldiers " for the space of one month: that they were then " expelling thence all strangers, and must instantly " send away for England thousands of poor despoiled " English, whose very eating was now insupportable " to that place; and therefore, they said, they did " again earnestly and finally desire (for their confu- " sions would not now admit the writing of many " more letters, if any) some supplies of victual and " munition might, in present, be hastened thither to " keep life, until the rest might follow; there being " no victuals in store; nor one hundred barrels of " powder; which, according to the usual necessary " expenses, besides extraordinary accidents, would " not last above a month."

A copy of this letter they likewise sent to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that his majesty might be informed of the sadness of their condition, and, with it, a copy of a paper that morning presented to the board (which was likewise sent in their letter to the speaker) from the officers of the army; who, after sharp expressions of the miseries they sustained, and ex-

postulations thereupon, concluded, "that if their "lordships would take them into their timely consi- "derations, before their urgent wants made them "desperate, they would serve them readily and faith- "fully; but if their lordships would not find a "way for their preservations there, they humbly "desired they might have leave to go where they "might have a better being; and if they refused "to grant that, they themselves must then take "leave to have recourse to that first and primary "law, which God had endued all men with, the "law of nature, which taught all men to preserve "themselves." 1643.

The king was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this advertisement; apprehending the state of his protestant subjects in that kingdom to be almost desperate, the rebels receiving daily encouragement and assistance from foreign parts; and thereupon growing strong and bold; yet he forbore to interpose his own sovereign power, hoping this last clear representation would have made so deep an impression in the two houses of parliament, that they would have sent such a full supply, that at least the rebels might make no farther progress in victory, against his protestant subjects. About the end of May, the lords justices and council, having received no probable hope of assistance from the parliament, sent an address immediately to his majesty, that himself might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preservation of one of his three kingdoms. This letter, subscribed by the lords justices, and every member of the council-board, being the ground and foundation of the resolutions which

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his majesty afterwards took, I think necessary [m] to insert in the terms of which it consisted; which were these:

"May it please [n] your most excellent majesty:

An address of the lords justices and the council in Ireland to the king.

"As soon as we your majesty's justices entered "into the charge of this government, we took into "our considerations, at the board, the state of your "army here; which we find suffering under un- "speakable extremity of want of all things necessary "to the support of their persons, or maintenance of "the war, here being no victuals, clothes, or other "provisions requisite towards their sustenance; no "money to provide them of any thing they want; "no arms in your majesty's stores to supply their "many defective arms; not above forty barrels of "powder in your stores; no strength of serviceable "horses being now left here; and those few that are, "their arms for the most part lost, or unserviceable; "no ships arrived here to guard the coast, and con- "sequently no security rendered to any that might, "on their private adventures, bring in provisions of "victuals, or other necessaries towards our subsist- "ence; and, finally, no visible means, by sea or land, "of being able to preserve for you this kingdom, and "to render deliverance from utter destruction to the "remnant of your good subjects yet [o] left here.

"We find, that your majesty's late justices, and "this board, have often, and fully, by very many "letters, advertised the parliament in England of

[m] necessary] necessary in this place

[n] May it please &c.] *In the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

[o] yet] *Not in MS.*

" the extremities of affairs here, and besought relief " with all possible importunity; which also have " been fully represented to your majesty, and to the " lord lieutenant, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, to be " made known to your majesty: and although the " winds have of late for many days, and often for- " merly, stood very fair for accessions of supply forth " of England hither, and that we have still, with " longing expectations, hoped to find provisions ar- " rive here, in some degree answerable to the neces- " sities of your affairs; yet now, to our unspeakable " grief, after full six months waiting, and much " longer patience, and long suffering, we find all our " great expectations answered in a mean and incon- " siderable quantity of provisions, viz. threescore and " fifteen barrels of butter, and fourteen ton of cheese; " being but the fourth part of a small vessel's lading, " which was sent from London, and arrived here the " fifth day of this month, which is not above seven " or eight days' provision, for that part of the army " which lies in Dublin, and the out-garrisons thereof; " no money or victual (other than that inconsidera- " ble proportion of victual) having arrived in this " place, as sent from the parliament of England, or " from any other fort of England, for the use of the " army, since the beginning of November last.

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" We have, by the blessing of God, been hitherto " prosperous and successful in your majesty's affairs " here, and should be still hopeful, by the mercy of " God, under the royal directions of your sacred ma- " jesty, to vindicate your majesty's honour, to reco- " ver your rights here, and take due vengeance on " those traitors, for the innocent blood they have " spilled, if we might be strengthened, and supported

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" therein, by needful supplies forth of England; but " these supplies having been hitherto expected to " come from the parliament of England, (on which " if your majesty had not relied, we are assured you " would, in your high wisdom, have found out some " other means to preserve this your kingdom,) and " so great and apparent a failure having happened " therein, and all the former, and late, long continu- " ing easterly winds, bringing us no other provisions " than those few cheeses and butter, and no adver- " tisements being brought us of any future supply to " be so much as in the way hither, whereby there " might be any likelihood that considerable means of " support for your majesty's army might arrive here, " in any reasonable time, before we be totally swal- " lowed up by the rebels, and your kingdom by them " wrested from you: we find ourselves so disap- " pointed of our hopes from the parliament, as must " needs trench to the utter loss of the kingdom, if " your majesty, in your high wisdom, ordain not " some present means of preservation for us. And " considering that if now, by occasion of that unhap- " py and unexpected failing of support from thence, " we shall be less successful in your services here " against the rebels, than hitherto, whilst we were " enabled with some means to serve you, we have " been, the shame and dishonour may, in common " construction of those that know not the inwards of " the cause, be imputed to us, and not to the failings " that disabled us: and considering principally, and " above all things, the high and eminent trust of " your affairs here, deposited with us by your sacred " majesty, we may not forbear, in discharge of our " duty, thus freely and plainly to declare our humble

"apprehensions, to the end your majesty, thus truly "understanding the terribleness of our condition, "may find out some such means of support, to pre- "serve to your majesty and your royal posterity "this your ancient and rightful crown and king- "dom; and derive deliverance and safety to the "remnant of your good subjects yet left here, as in "your excellent judgment you shall find to be most "for your honour and advantage. And so praying "the King of kings to guide and direct you for the "best, in this high and important cause, and in all "other your counsels and actions, we humbly re- "main:

From your majesty's castle of Dublin, the 11th of May, 1643.

There was no sober man in Ireland or England, who believed it to be in the king's power to enable this people to carry on the war; for all men too well knew, that he had neither money, victual, ammunition, or shipping, to supply them: and therefore his majesty could not but conclude, that, by this application of that state to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguish that war which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the same time with this letter, he received advice and information, from some of his prime ministers of that kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledged, perfectly to abhor the rebellion, "that "there was no reasonable hope of preserving his "protestant subjects, and his own interest in that "kingdom, but by treating with the rebels, and "making a peace, or truce, with them." The king well foresaw to what reproaches he should object

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himself, by entering into such a[p] treaty with those rebels; and that they who had persuaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented, the rebellion, against all human evidence that can be imagined, would more easily gain credit, when they should be able to say, that he had made a peace with them: besides that he had bound himself not to make a peace with the rebels in Ireland, without the consent of his two houses of parliament in England. On the other side, nothing was more demonstrable, than that his protestant subjects there could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and assistance out of England; that it was impossible for him to send any to them, and as visible, that the parliament would not, or could not; so that it seemed only in his election, whether he would preserve the remainder of his protestant subjects there, and that whole kingdom, in dependence upon his crown, with the inconvenience of some perverse and unreasonable scandal; or suffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having lost a kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retained it within his subjection: and whatever he had obliged himself to, in those acts of parliament which he had passed for relief of Ireland, before any rebellion in England, was not, that there might never be a peace in Ireland, but that the two houses might cooperate with him, whereby the rebels might be reduced to those straits, that they might be compelled to submit to the performance of their duties: and that, instead of any such cooperation, the two

[p] such a] any

houses refused to concur with him in any thing, and had employed those monies, which had been raised by those very acts, for the relief of Ireland, in the maintenance of the armies which had given his majesty battle in England, expressly contrary to the words of those acts; and therefore that his majesty might be reasonably disengaged from those covenants on his part. BOOK VII. 1643.

Upon these considerations, after two months' delay, to see whether yet the parliament would take care of them, and having received fresh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of July, the king writ to the lords justices in Ireland, "that "they should issue out a commission, under the "great seal of Ireland, to the marquis of Ormond, "to treat and conclude a cessation of arms with the "rebels, upon such articles and conditions as he "should judge most reasonable; and during that "cessation, that such agents as they should make "choice of, should have access to his royal person, "to present their own propositions for peace:" so careful was the king not to infringe that act of parliament, which many understood to be dissolved by themselves: there being no colourable clause in it, by which it was not in his majesty's own power to make a cessation; and the peace itself he respited in such a manner, that he might receive advice and concurrence from the parliament, if they would not decline any farther consideration or care of that kingdom.

Hereupon the lord marquis of Ormond, being then only general of the horse there, entered upon a treaty with commissioners authorized by the council at Kilkenny; to whose jurisdiction the rebels

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had committed the whole government of their affairs; and articles of cessation being prepared for a year, and perused, and approved by the lords justices and council, without whose advice the marquis would not proceed, and all the principal officers of the army having given it under their hands, being present likewise at the treaty, "that it was most "necessary for the preservation of that kingdom, "that a cessation should be made for a year, upon "those articles and conditions; and the rebels un- "dertaking to pay to his majesty's use, thirty thou- "sand and eight hundred pounds sterling, within a "short time; whereof fifteen thousand eight hun- "dred pounds in ready money, and the other fifteen "thousand pounds, one half in money, and the other "half in good beefs, at thirty pounds the score;" a cessation of arms was concluded by the marquis; and published, with the articles and conditions, by the lords justices and council of Ireland, to begin on the fifteenth day of September, and to continue for the space of a whole year.

A cessation of arms concluded for a year in Ireland, Sept. 7. disowned by the two houses at Westminster.

This cessation was no sooner known in England, but the two houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his majesty's dishonour that can be imagined; persuading the people, "that the "rebels were now brought to their last gasp, and "reduced to so terrible a famine, that, like canni- "bals, they eat one another, and must have been "destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, "by the popish counsels at court, the king had not "been persuaded to consent to this cessation." It is one of the instances of the strange, fatal misunderstanding, which possessed this time, that, notwithstanding all the caution the king used in meddling

at all with the business of that kingdom from the time of the rebellion, and the clear discovery of all particular reasons, grounds, and counsels, when he found it necessary to interpose in it, the calumnies and slanders raised to his majesty's disservice and dishonour, made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of men, and not only of vulgar-spirited people, but of those who resisted all other infusions and infection. And posterity, no question, will inquire, from what rise or spring this disadvantage flowed; to which inquiry I can apply no other satisfaction, besides the disease of the time; which imputed all designs to designs upon religion, and whatsoever was done by papists, to the zeal of the queen on the behalf of her own religion; then that the chief managers, and conductors of their counsels, found it necessary to aver many things of fact upon their own knowledge, (by which they found the understanding of men liable to be captivated,) which in truth were not so: as I myself[q] found by some sober men, at such times as there was occasion of intercourse, and conference with them, that they did, upon such assurance, believe that the king had done somewhat in that business of Ireland, (some having avowed, that they had seen his hand to such and such letters and instructions,) which, upon as much knowledge as any man can morally have of a negative, I am sure he never did. 1643.

I shall here insert, as the most natural and proper evidence of the state of Ireland, at the time of the cessation, and of the unanswerable motives which prevailed with the king to consent to it, two letters;

[q] myself] *Not in MS.*

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the one, of expostulation from the two houses to the lords justices and council, which was received by them after the cessation agreed on, though seeming to be sent before; and the answer of that board thereunto; with the contents whereof, the king, nor any of his council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The letters were in these words.

To our very good lords, the lords justices, and council, for the kingdom of Ireland.

" Our very good lords,

A letter concerning it, from the two houses to the lords justices, July 4, 1643.

" The lords and commons[r] in parliament have " commanded us to let you know, they have seen " your letter of the tenth of June, directed to the " speaker of the house of commons, accompanied " with an act of state, in the preamble whereof is " an expression to this effect; that your present " difficulties are occasioned through the failure of " the houses of parliament in England, who under- " took the charge of this war. This letter, and act " of council, were sent by his majesty from Oxford; " to whom they believe you have sent copies of " both, and have just cause to suspect, that there is " an impious design now on foot, to sell for nought " the crying blood of many hundred thousands of " British protestants, by a dishonourable, unsuffer- " able peace with the rebels; and then to lay the " blame and shame of this upon the parliament; a " plot suitable to those counsels that have both pro- " jected and fomented this unparalleled rebellion: " for those who contrived the powder treason, in-

[r] The lords and commons] *Both these letters are in the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

" tended to lay it on the puritans. And although
" they cannot think your lordships intended to fur-
" ther this design by this expression, yet they have
" cause to believe, you have forgotten the present
" condition of this kingdom; the supplies they have
" sent thither of all sorts, even in the midst of their
" own wants: what relief going thither hath been
" taken away by sea and land, and by whom; and
" what discouragements have been given them in
" return: so that, as your lordships do truly observe
" the protestant party in that city desirous to con-
" tribute, in all things, towards preservation of that
" kingdom, and that all the opposition therein is
" from those of the popish party; so ought you
" justly to conclude, that the protestant party in
" this kingdom have contributed, and are still en-
" deavouring to contribute, monies, ammunition, vic-
" tuals, and other necessaries, for the saving of that
" kingdom: and that the popish and malignant
" party here, now in arms against the parliament
" and kingdom, have not assisted, in the least mea-
" sure, this pious work; but, on the contrary, do
" hinder and oppose the same: neither should your
" lordships conceive, that only the charge of that
" war was referred to, and undertaken by, the par-
" liament, as if their part was to be your bankers,
" only to provide money for you to spend, and were
" not to advise and direct the managing of the war;
" although an act of parliament hath invested them
" with that power; which they must assume and
" vindicate as the means to save that kingdom; and
" shall bring to condign punishment those there,
" who, in this conjuncture of affairs, have advised
" the commission to hear what the rebels can say,

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" or propound, for their own advantage; the letters " to divest their committee of an authority given " them by both houses; and that advised the late " alteration of government there; as enemies to the " weal of both kingdoms, and fautors of that rebel- " lion. In the last place, we are forbidden to tell " you, what supplies of money, victuals, ammuni- " tion, and other necessaries, are in good forward- " ness to be sent over, for the support of the officers " and soldiers there, and by whose incessant care; " lest they should seem to answer that scandal by " excuse, which deserves an high resentment. This " being all we have in command for the present, we " bid your lordships farewell, and remain,

" Your lordships' friends to serve you,

" *Grey of Warke,*

" *Speaker of the house of lords*[s] pro tempore;

" *William Lenthall,*

" *Speaker of the commons house in parliament.*

" The lords and commons will examine the de- " meanour of the ships appointed to guard those " coasts; and might have expected a copy of Moun- " trose's letter to colonel Crawford, which came to " your hands before the 10th of June; and, happily, " would discover the treason[t] of the rebels, sent by " your enemies to destroy you; as well as a com- " plaint of those sea-captains, sent by your friends " to defend you; whose neglects and misdeeds are " notwithstanding to be punished, according as their " demerits shall appear."

Westminster, the 4th of July, 1643.

[s] *lords*] *peers*

[t] treason] treasons

To our very good lord, the lord speaker of the right honourable the lords house of parliament, in the kingdom of England; and to our very loving friend, William Lenthall, esq. speaker of the honourable commons house in parliament, in the said kingdom.

" Our very good lord, and Mr. Speaker of the " commons house in parliament,

" Your joint letters of the fourth of July last di- The lords justices' answer.
" rected to us, were so long in coming, as they
" came not to our hands until the sixth of October.
" By those your letters, you signify, that the lords
" and commons in parliament have commanded you
" to let us know, that they have seen our letters of
" the tenth of June, directed to the speaker of the
" house of commons, accompanied with an act of
" state, in the preamble whereof there is an expres-
" sion to this effect; that our present difficulties
" were occasioned through the failure of the houses
" of parliament in England, who undertook the
" charge of this war: to which expression, it seems,
" exception is taken, and interpretations made
" thereof, far otherwise we are sure than was in-
" tended by us; and, as we conceive, otherwise than
" the true sense of those words can bear. It is true,
" that when we were necessitated to set on foot the
" new imposition, raised here in nature of an excise,
" towards keeping this army from perishing by fa-
" mine, it became necessary to express, in the act
" of council whereby we ordered it, the reasons in-
" ducing us to set on foot here a thing so unknown
" to his majesty's laws, and gracious government,
" and the difficulties wherewith we contended, which

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" did necessitate that resolution; and in expressing " those difficulties, we used that expression, to shew " whence our difficulties were occasioned; and that " we have therein declared the truth, we crave leave " to mind you of some particulars.

" If we should look so far back as to repeat the " substance of many despatches sent from this board, " since the beginning of this rebellion; some to our " very good lord, the lord lieutenant of this king- " dom; some to the lords, and others, members of " both houses, his majesty's commissioners for the " affairs of this kingdom; and some to the speaker " of the commons house of parliament there; it " would prove a voluminous work; and therefore " we forbear to look farther back into those des- " patches, than to the time when the committee " sent thence hither, were here; who, at their ar- " rival here, in the end of October 1642, brought " with them some money and provisions, but far " short of that which the necessities of this army " required; and indeed so inconsiderable, in respect " of those necessities, as even before that committee " departed, they saw the money they had brought, " wholly issued; and the high and unavoidable ne- " cessity of a farther, speedy, and plentiful supply " of money, and other provisions. By letters from " this board of the twentieth of January 1642, and " directed to the speaker of the commons house of " parliament there, it was signified thither, that the " provisions of victuals here were then at the very " bottom; that that committee then here, had cer- " tified thither those wants; that if a personal sup- " ply of victual arrived not here very speedily, the " army could not subsist, but must have been con-

" strained to disband, to the loss of this kingdom, " and utter destruction of the few subjects here: " that the want of treasure here, to pay the army, " enforced this board to issue victual to the common " soldier, and others, towards their pay, which did " the sooner exhaust the magazine of victual; that " the captains, and other officers, not having relief " that way, were reduced to great extremities, as " had been formerly often represented thither; and " therefore this board, by the said letters, then moved, " that treasure might be sent us speedily, so to re- " deem the officers from the calamities they suffered, " and this board from their unsupportable clamours; " and to enable the payment, in some part, in money " to the common soldier; so to make the victual we " then expected, to hold out the longer.

" It was also by those letters then advertised " thither, that the extremities of the officers of the " army had begotten so much discontent amongst " them, as divers colonels, and others of them, pre- " sented at this board a remonstrance, whereof a " copy was then sent enclosed in the said letters; " which remonstrance did exceedingly trouble and " perplex us, lest it might beget such distractions " amongst us, as might give too much advantage to " the rebels. But, after full debate thereof at this " board, it was here directed, that in present, to ren- " der some subsistence to the officers, until treasure " arrived forth of England, every man in this city " should bring in half of his plate, to be paid for it " when treasure arrived; whereupon some plate was " brought in, and applied towards the army. This " board did also signify by those letters, that with- " out some speedy relief forth of England, the bur-

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" den here was become too heavy to be borne; and " therefore, in discharge of our duty to God, to our " gracious sovereign, to that kingdom, and to this, " we held ourselves bound clearly to make known, " that unless we were speedily supplied from thence " with money, arms, and victual, it would be impos- " sible for us any farther to prosecute this war, or to " preserve from sudden confusion this state and go- " vernment: so highly did the discontent of the of- " ficers, and the disorder of the soldiers, threaten us, " that it might be easily apprehended, what, in all " human probability, must become of us, when it " was then evident, that here was no money, nor " any possibility of procuring any in this city; when " our victuals were spent; when a great part of the " army had no arms; upon [u] which we doubted, and " feared, for the reasons in those letters expressed, " that the soldiers would make prey of us and this " city at last; and when we saw that the destruction, " then threatened against us, must then go farther, " even to the loss of this crown, and kingdom; and " to the highly endangering of that kingdom also; " which, for the honour of his majesty, and the Eng- " lish nation, we by our said letters desired might, by " the wisdom of that honourable house, be speedily " prevented, by hastening away, with all possible " speed, supply of money, arms, and victuals.

" By other letters of this board, directed to Mr. " Speaker, and dated the said 20th of January 1642, " it was advertised thither, that it was become of ab- " solute necessity, that there should be sent us from " thence, speedily, six hundred light [x] geldings for

[u] upon] *Not in MS.*

[x] light] able light

" recruits, to be defalked out of the entertainments
" of those who should receive them. By other letters
" from this board, of the same date, directed to Mr.
" Speaker, it was signified thither, that we had con-
" tracted an agreement here with Theodore Schout,
" and Jacob Ablin, merchants, that Anthony Ty-
" renes, in London, or Daniel Wibrant, in Amster-
" dam, should receive seven thousand eight hundred
" fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings; for
" which the said Theodore and Jacob had under-
" taken, by their agreement with us, to buy in Hol-
" land, and to transport from thence hither, at their
" own charge and adventure, several proportions of
" arms mentioned in a docket, then sent enclosed in
" our said letters; and they undertook so to secure
" it by insurance, and provide such a ship of force,
" as we might be assured to have all those arms ar-
" rive here by the tenth of March now last past.
" And we, by our said letters, earnestly besought
" that the said sum of seven thousand eight hundred
" fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings might,
" by order of that honourable house, be speedily paid
" to the said Tyrenes, or Wibrant, that those pro-
" visions might arrive here by the tenth of March;
" that we might not lose the advantage of the then
" next spring, for recovering of such of the seaports,
" and other places of importance, as the rebels had
" gotten; and for proceeding effectually in this war.
" Those letters also moved for other provisions of
" war, which we conceived might be had in England
" in reasonable time. And we then sent a docket of
" those also; desiring earnestly they might be sent
" us speedily. And although there was an agent
" sent from hence in November 1641, to solicit the

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" despatches sent from hence, who attended at Lon-
" don, when those our letters were sent hence; yet
" of so great importance was that despatch, requiring
" instant and speedy answer and supply from thence,
" as we adjudged it necessary to give special in-
" structions to the lord Conway, and others, (besides
" that agent then there attending,) to move his ma-
" jesty, and solicit the houses of parliament, to hasten
" unto us, with all possible speed, the provisions in
" those letters[y] contained: and that there might
" nothing be omitted, that by solicitation could be
" obtained, there were agents also sent thither from
" the army to solicit for them. By letters from this
" board of the twentieth of February 1642, directed
" to Mr. Speaker, we again desired, with all possible
" earnestness, that the provisions of all sorts, ex-
" pressed in those three letters of the twentieth of
" January, and the dockets therewith sent, might be
" hastened to us; and that the said seven thousand
" eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three
" shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, might
" be speedily paid. And in those last letters we again
" signified our miserable and unspeakable want of
" victuals, arms, munition, money, shoes, and other
" necessaries; and that if the supplies we moved for
" came not speedily, we were unavoidably in danger
" to be as much devoured by our own wants, as by
" the sword of the rebels; and that our want of
" corn was so much the more, in regard that, in
" confidence to be plentifully supplied forth of Eng-
" land, we caused great destruction to be made of
" corn; there being indeed nothing conducing more

[y] letters] three letters

" to the destruction of rebels, than the burning of all " corn.

" We also then signified the necessity of sending " a farther supply of powder and match; and we " declared, that no words could sufficiently express " the greatness of the danger we should incur, if our " supplies came not speedily: that the plate brought " in amounted not to one thousand two hundred " pounds; a sum very inconsiderable towards relief " of the officers. By letters of this board of the " twenty-fifth of February 1642, directed to Mr. " Speaker, we signified, that when our means from " thence failed, and our credits could hold out no " longer, we were constrained, towards relief of the " army, to force from the protestant merchants here, " as well English as strangers, not only the commo- " dities they had brought hither, but the native " commodities also; undertaking to them that they " should receive payment at London; which failing, " that those that would supply us were disheartened, " and durst not come hither with commodities; " wherefore we again, by those letters, besought " speedy supply from thence; declaring that other- " wise the army and we must perish; and so far we " were transported with grief, in the consideration " of the high extremities of this kingdom, and army, " as we did, by those letters, lament for the shame " and dishonour, which we then foresaw would re- " flect upon the English nation, if then, after so long " and often forewarnings, given by us to that ho- " nourable house, this kingdom were lost, and that " for want of supplies from thence; wherein we then " declared, that all the comfort left us was, that we " had done our parts, and discharged our duties to

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"God, to his majesty, and to all his kingdoms, who "must have borne their parts with us in so heavy a "loss.

"By letters from this board, dated the twenty-"third of March 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we "signified that our wants enforced us to distribute "the soldiers, for their victuals, in and throughout "this city and suburbs; which, we signified, could "not long hold, considering the poverty of this "place; and therefore, to avoid utter confusion, we "did again and again beseech most earnestly, that, "above all things, victuals and munition might be "sent us speedily; and that money, arms, clothes, "shoes, and other provisions might also be sent; de-"claring, that if they yet came speedily, the king-"dom, and his majesty's forces here, might be there-"by redeemed out of part of their distresses; and "we enabled, by the blessing of God, to give his "majesty such an account of this kingdom, as would "be for the glory of the king our master, and the "honour of the English nation, in the subduing this "horrid rebellion; which, by reason of our wants, "and in no other respect, was then grown very "terrible: and we did again call for the provisions, "moved for by our several former letters of the "twentieth of January, and twentieth of February, "and for the payment of the seven thousand eight "hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shil-"lings, for arms to be provided in Holland, and "those also which we expect from London; declar-"ing, that unless those supplies came, we should be "disabled from doing service on the rebels the then "next spring, or the then succeeding summer; and "must undoubtedly put the rebels into a condition

" of prevailing against us, which we well believed " the kingdom of England would never have permitted against so faithful servants and valiant soldiers, as his majesty yet had here.

" By those letters also we signified, that it was " necessary that there should be here, at this harbour of Dublin, by the middle of April, at least " two ships of good strength; and that the ships designed for guarding the other parts of the coasts of " this kingdom, should be hastened away with all " possible speed. By letters from this board directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the fourth of April " 1643, we represented again the unspeakable miseries of the officers and soldiers, for want of all " things; and all those made the more insupportable, " in the want of food; and that this city was then " apparently found to be unable to help us, as it had " formerly done; and repeated again, in as lively " terms as we could, the high extremities fallen, and " increasing upon us; declaring, that we were enforced to see, who had any thing yet left him not " taken from him, to help us; and that although " there were but few such, and some poor merchants, " whom we had formerly, by the law of necessity, " utterly undone; yet, that we were forced to wrest " their commodities from them: that there were few " here, of ourselves or others, that had not felt their " parts in the enforced rigour of our proceedings towards preserving the army; and we earnestly desired, that his majesty, and the English nation, " might not suffer so great, if not irrecoverable prejudice and dishonour, as must unavoidably be the " consequence of our not being relieved suddenly; " but that yet, although it were then even almost at

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" the point to be too late, supplies of victuals, and " munition, in present might be hastened hither, to " keep life, until the rest might follow: declaring " also, that there was no victual in the store, and " that there would not be an hundred barrels of " powder left, when the out-garrisons, as they must " then instantly have been, were supplied; and that " the residue of our provisions must also come " speedily after, or otherwise that England could " not hope to secure Ireland, or secure themselves " against Ireland; but in the loss of it, must look " for such enemies from hence, as would perpetually " disturb the peace of his majesty, and his kingdom " of England; and among them, by sea and land, " as we had often formerly represented thither; " which mischiefs we signified might yet be pre- " vented, if we were but then forthwith enabled, " from thence, with means to overcome this rebel- " lion.

" We then also again renewed our requests for " the provisions mentioned in our letters of the " twentieth of January, and for the payment of the " seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thir- " teen pounds three shillings, for arms to be pro- " vided in Holland, besides those we expected from " London: we then also sent, enclosed in our letters " to Mr. Speaker, a copy of writing, signed by sun- " dry officers of the army, which was in a style " threatening much danger; whereby appeared the " high necessity of hastening treasure hither to pay " them, and the rest of the officers, and provide vic- " tual for the soldiers. On the tenth of April 1643, " we received letters from Mr. Speaker, of the se- " venteenth of March, in answer to our letters of

"the twentieth and twenty-fifth of February. Those "letters from Mr. Speaker advised free trade and "truck to be given to merchants, by taking our na- "tive commodities, that cannot be manufactured "here, for their corn, and other victuals, and carry- "ing them into England, or other places not prohi- "bited. And by our letters directed to Mr. Speaker, "dated the twenty-second of April, in answer to his "said letters of the seventeenth of March, we made "it appear, that that design could not hold to de- "rive benefit to this army. By those our letters "we signified also, that the necessities of the army "still pressed us, by degrees, to break the mer- "chants here, by wresting their commodities from "them, upon promise of satisfaction in England: "that the failing of that satisfaction in England, as "it had undone them, so had it infinitely prejudiced "the service here: that we engaged the word of "this state, to procure payment to many others, "out of the next treasure that shall arrive forth of "England, (which courses, though very hard, did "help us for a time;) that when those failed, we "begun at ourselves, then at others, then at all fra- "ternities, and corporations, as bakers, brewers, "butchers, vintners, and the like; then at all parti- "cular persons observed to have any visible sub- "stance, not being able to spare poor men, who (to "gain a poor living) made profession, some of sell- "ing hot waters, and some of cutting tobacco: that "in the end, all other means failing, we had re- "course to the only native commodity, hides; seiz- "ing on all that could be found, either on ship- "board, ready to be exported hence, (with purpose "in some of the owners of them to return victuals

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" hither; which we were not able to wait for,) or " on shore; prepared for ship-board; and made use " of them to get the army in a few days' bread, " still hoping provisions of victual might come to " keep them alive; which did draw upon us infinite " clamour.

" And by the said letters we earnestly besought, " that before we should be utterly swallowed up in " the confusion of affairs, wherewith we were beset, " the destruction of this state, and army, and king- " dom, being then no less feared to arise from the " army, though sent hither for their preservation, " than from the fury of the rebels, if that honour- " able house would not look back into all our seve- " ral letters sent thither, which we then declared " should for ever acquit us before God, and the " world; as having discharged our duties to God, to " his majesty, and to this his kingdom, in fully, and " timely, and often representing thither the evils " then ready to seize upon this state, the army, and " the kingdom, and the means of preventing them; " yet at last they would be pleased to review our " said several letters of the twentieth and twenty- " fifth of February, of the twentieth of January, " twenty-third of March, and fourth of April. We " then also signified that the soldiers, pressed through " wants, attempted tumults and mutiny, plundered " divers of the inhabitants of this city, as well Eng- " lish and protestants, as others: that we appre- " hended those disorders but beginnings of what, " we doubted, would then shortly ensue, even the " ransack of this city, if, by supplies forth of Eng- " land, it were not prevented: that then there would " be no refuge left, either for the army, or other

" English here: that we were not able to send out " the soldiers, for want of money to furnish ordi- " nary necessities, and of ammunition: wherefore " we then again earnestly moved, that some means " might be found for complying with our desires, in " those our several letters expressed; certifying, " that the state of affairs here could not possibly " admit the least deferring; and that no help was " to be expected from hence; as we had often, and " fully, in former letters, signified thither: that if " it were not immediately supplied forth of Eng- " land with powder, we should not be able to de- " fend ourselves, or offend the rebels; and that, " above all things, munition, money, and victuals, " were, of necessity, to be sent in the first place; " and the other provisions to be sent after, which " also we certified most needful to be done with all " possible speed.

" By our letters of the sixth of May 1643, di- " rected to Mr. Speaker, we signified how necessary " it was, that the intended establishment should be " considered there, and put into such a way as to " be made perfect, and, receiving his majesty's gra- " cious approbation, might be sent hither; which " we desired to be hastened, that the officers, who " daily labour in the public services, might the bet- " ter know what they are to have; of which esta- " blishment we have not yet had any return. By " our letters to Mr. Speaker of the 11th of May " 1643, we signified, that although by letters from " Mr. Speaker, dated the 17th day of March, it was " advertised hither, that six weeks' provision of vic- " tuals, for each province, was in preparing, yet " that it was not come, or if it was come, that it

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" was a supply far below that which was necessary " to be then sent hither. And we then again re- " peated the miserable condition of this army, through " want of all things, especially money, victuals, " clothes, arms, and munition: that there were not " above forty barrels of powder in the store, (a " mean and inconsiderable quantity for this army, " on whom depends the preservation of the king- " dom,) and we again desired, in case of so high " and eminent danger, and that with all possible " importunity, that a course might be then instantly " taken for hastening away powder with all speed, " and that the other provisions also of all sorts, " mentioned in our former several letters of the " 20th of January, 20th and 25th of February, the " 23d of March, and the 4th and 22d of April, " might be also hastened away; and that the seven " thousand eight hundred and fourscore and thir- " teen pounds three shillings, for arms to be pro- " vided in Holland, besides those we expected from " London, might be paid.

" By those letters also we signified, that we could " not but lament our misfortune, and the dishonour " reflecting on the English nation, that the season " of the year should be so far entered into, and yet " (notwithstanding all the representations, often, " and timely enough made thither of affairs here) " no means put into our power to make use thereof, " in a vigorous prosecution of the war; but instead " thereof, notwithstanding all the endeavour and " industry here used to prevent it, we then beheld " ourselves sunk deeply into a gulph of confusion, " and distress of affairs, being equally in danger to " be devoured through our wants, or to be destroyed

" by the rebels, for want of needful habiliments of
" war to enable our defence, as had been formerly
" often and fully declared thither; and therefore we 1643.
" again pressed to be redeemed from the terribleness
" of our condition, by such timely accessions of sup-
" plies forth of England, as were contained in our
" said former despatches.

" By our letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the 16th
" of May 1643, we desired that 320*l.* might be paid
" there, as we had formerly desired, for sundry par-
" ticulars necessary for the chirurgeons of this army;
" there being a great want thereof for the cures of
" wounded men. And then we sent, and employed
" sir Thomas Wharton, knight, a member of this
" army, purposely to solicit the means of our relief,
" that so we might omit nothing that we conceived
" might conduce to the hastening of our expected
" supplies. And by our letters of the 16th of May,
" then sent to Mr. Speaker, we signified, that the
" kingdom was then in more danger than ever to
" be forced out of our hands, for want of timely
" supplies out of England; and we desired most
" earnestly, that his despatch might be hastened for
" our preservation, that, if it were possible, the king
" and kingdom of England might yet then be pre-
" served from that irrecoverable prejudice and dis-
" honour, which must necessarily accompany and
" follow the loss of this kingdom.

" And here we may not omit to mention, that
" we prevailed with divers persons to advance pro-
" visions to us, at several times, to answer the cry-
" ing necessities of this army; and to some we gave
" our bills, in nature of bills of exchange, and to
" others, our own bonds, undertaking repayment at

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"London by the parliament there; which we did "in confidence to find ready payment there accord- "ingly: and we do not yet hear that those bills of "exchange, or bonds, are yet paid there; but we "find some of the parties ready to sue and implead "us here, for those debts, though contracted only "for the public service.

"Which proceeding of this board, from time to "time, we thus at large deduce, that so it may ap- "pear fully that we have discharged those duties "which we owe to his majesty, and to the trust of "his majesty's affairs here, in representing thither "fully, and timely, and often, the wants and ex- "tremities to which this kingdom and army were "reduced, and the means requisite to be sent for "relief and preservation of both; and yet in all "that time, namely from the said twentieth day of "January 1642, to the tenth of June 1643, which "is the day of the date of our letters, to which "yours of the fourth of July is an answer, or from "that time to this, there arrived here, as sent from "the parliament of England, towards the relief of "this army, and for maintenance of this war, but "the particulars following, viz. forty-nine thousand "two hundred forty-eight pounds of butter; forty- "nine thousand six hundred forty-nine pounds of "cheese; four hundred forty-seven barrels and a "half of wheat and rye; three hundred threescore "and seven barrels of pease; and three hundred "fifty-six barrels of oats; also five hundred suits of "clothes, one thousand cassocks, two thousand eight "hundred and eighteen caps; also eight and twenty "hundred three quarters and one pound of match, "thirty-eight hundred two quarters and nine pound

" of shot, and three hundred threescore and four-
" teen barrels of powder; of which provisions of
" munition, there were three hundred and one and
" forty barrels of powder, and five hundred fifty-five
" pound two quarters and four and twenty pound
" of match, which was the munition we had con-
" tracted for here, and in the way, coming from
" Holland, was intercepted at sea, and carried to
" Calais, and afterwards set free there by the media-
" tion of his majesty, and the houses of parliament
" in England, but the price thereof stands charged
" on the said houses of parliament.

" This was not above a week's provision, or there-
" abouts, of victuals, for the army in Lemster, be-
" ing fifteen regiments of foot, and twenty-two
" troops of horse, and four troops of dragoons, be-
" sides train of artillery, and four hundred firelocks;
" so as certainly there was a failure in supplying us,
" and that failure was not occasioned through any
" neglect on our parts, in not representing thither
" the wants and extremities endured by this army;
" and the means of their supply is, as we conceive,
" very clear by those several despatches sent from
" us to Mr. Speaker. And seeing, that the charge
" of this war was referred to, and undertaken by,
" the houses of parliament of England, and that by
" those despatches they fully understood the condi-
" tion of affairs here, we offer it to any man's con-
" sideration, whether or no we had not just cause
" to conceive, and accordingly to express in that act
" of council, that our difficulties, which were neces-
" sary to be mentioned in that act, were occasioned
" through the failure of the houses of parliament in
" England.

BOOK VII.

1643.

"And whereas you write, that the lords and commons in parliament do believe we have sent copies of our said letters and act of council to his majesty, it is true, that we have so done; and therein acquitted ourselves towards that duty which we owe him; and had failed in our duties, if we had done otherwise. But how from that, as we conceive, necessary and true expression of ours in the said act of council, or from our sending a copy thereof, and of our said letters, to his majesty, there can be any just cause to suspect (as your letters seem to infer) there is such an impious design now on foot, as your letters mention, we confess we do not understand, or any design at all other than the needful settling here of the imposition, in nature of an excise, in those our letters and act of council mentioned; without which this army could not have subsisted to this time; and was pressed by the committee from the parliament here, but then avoided; our hopes being then more, and our necessities not so great as they were when we laid it. And as we find by your letters, that the lords and commons in parliament there have done us the right, by your said letters, to signify that they cannot think we intended, by that expression, to farther the design in your letters mentioned, so we hold it necessary to declare, that we neither have forgotten, nor can forget, the present condition of that kingdom; but we have a long time beheld, and still behold, and lament with bleeding hearts, the woful condition of that kingdom, and how God's hand is still stretched out against us, in those heavy distractions there; yet we comfort ourselves with hope, that God, in mercy to his

" majesty, and to all his kingdoms and people, will " at length, in his own good time, answer the prayers " and tears of us his majesty's servants, and many " thousands of others his good subjects there, and " here, continually poured out for his majesty, and " his kingdom, in removing that heavy judgment, " and settling peace and tranquillity there, to the " glory of God, the honour of his majesty, and the " joint happiness of all his subjects, in all his king- " doms and dominions.

" Nor have we forgotten the supplies of all sorts " sent hither by the parliament, but do very well re- " member them. But we confess we know not what " relief coming hither hath been taken away, either " by sea or land, or by whom, or what discourage- " ment hath been given them in return: only we " have heard, that the shipping, employed by the " rebels at Wexford, did give them some interrup- " tion at sea; and that was occasioned by neglect of " duty in those who commanded the ships designed " for the guard of the coasts of this kingdom: and " the said ship bound hither from Holland with mu- " nition, which we had contracted for here, was in- " tercepted at sea, and carried to Calais, and after- " wards set free there, by the mediation of his ma- " jesty and the houses of parliament in England. " And we find that some ships, sent hither it seems " at first with provisions from London, and other " ships bound hither with provisions on private men's " adventures, were taken away even from this har- " bour, a few days before the cessation of arms here, " as they were coming in, and carried to Liverpool, " by one captain Dausk, a person employed by the " two houses of parliament there, in the command

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" of a ship; and that ship commanded by Dausk,
" and other ships employed at Liverpool, do now,
" and have a long time stayed on that side, laden
" with provision of victuals, coals, and other neces-
" sary relief bound from thence hither to be sold;
" which, if they had arrived here, would have
" brought great relief to this army, and the inhabi-
" tants in this city, though on the adventure of the
" bringers; which we hold necessary to represent
" thither, to the end that their uncharitableness to-
" wards those poor men that would adventure hither
" to relieve us, and their inhumanity towards this
" distressed army and city, and many of his majesty's
" protestant subjects therein, might appear so, as
" they, or others, may not presume hereafter to of-
" fend in that kind.

" And whereas you write, that we should not con-
" ceive that only the charge of this war was referred
" to, and undertaken by, the parliament, as if their
" part were to be our bankers, only to provide mo-
" nies for us to spend, and were not to advise and
" direct the managing of the war; we confess we
" neither did, nor do conceive the parliament there
" to be bankers for us; but did esteem them, as
" those to whom the king our master referred the
" charge of this war, and to whom, as so intrusted
" by his majesty, this board, from time to time, made
" application; and if any advice had come from them,
" concerning the managing of the war, we should have
" endeavoured to have made the best use thereof,
" for the furtherance of his majesty's service here.
" And here we hold it necessary to declare, that
" when we understood, that his majesty, at the
" humble desire of the lords and commons of parlia-

"ment in England, had, in April 1642, granted a "commission to some members of both houses, for "ordering and disposing all matters there, for the "defence, relief, and recovery of this kingdom; "and that his majesty commanded all his officers, "ministers, and subjects of his kingdoms of Eng-"land and Ireland, to be obedient, aiding, and "assisting to the said commissioners in the due ex-"ecution of the said commission; and that by his "majesty's instructions, annexed to the said com-"mission, his majesty gave it in charge to those "commissioners, to advertise his lieutenant of Ire-"land, the council, and other governors and com-"manders here, what they conceived to be needful "for the prosecution of the war in the best manner, "for the defence of this his kingdom, and ease of the "great charges and expenses, which, by occasion of "this rebellion, lay upon his loving subjects of his "kingdom of England: we therefore, by our letters "of the seventh of June 1642, directed to those his "majesty's commissioners, besought, among other "things, present and particular direction for the "prosecution of the war; which yet we have not "received: only we had advice from thence, to send "some forces into Connaught; which was done; "and for sending some forces into Munster, which, "by our letters of the thirteenth of September 1642, "to the commissioners there, we signified was not "possible for us to do, unless we were plentifully "supplied of those things, whereof the wants then "certified thither did then disable us.

"Concerning the commission in your letters men-"tioned, it was not to hear what the rebels would "say, or propound for their own advantage, as your

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1643.

" letters mention; but his majesty having received
" an humble petition, in the name of the recusants
" of Ireland, desiring to be heard, his majesty thought
" it not unjust, or inconvenient for him, to receive
" from them what they could say unto him; to
" whom they insinuated that they would yet yield
" due obedience. And therefore his majesty, by his
" commission under the great seal of England,
" (wherein he declared his extreme detestation of
" the odious rebellion, which the recusants of Ire-
" land have, without any ground or colour, raised
" against him, his crown, and dignity,) authorized
" some of his ministers here, to hear at large what
" the petitioners should say, or propound; which his
" majesty, by the said commission, directed that the
" petitioners, or the principal of them, authorized by
" the rest, should set down in writing under their
" hands; and the commissioners to send the same to
" his majesty; whereupon his majesty by the said
" commission declared, he would take such farther
" consideration, as should be just, honourable, and
" fit for his majesty: and that that course gave not
" the least interruption to the proceeding of the
" war, appears by this, that on the eighteenth of
" March (being in the time the commissioners, au-
" thorized by his majesty, gave meeting to those of
" the other side, upon that commission) the lord
" marquis of Ormond, though one of those commis-
" sioners, in his return from Rosse with about two
" thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse
" of his majesty's army, fought with the army of the
" rebels, consisting of about six thousand foot, and
" six hundred and fifty horse, and obtained a happy
" and glorious victory against them; and the rebels'

" army being defeated, and wholly routed, and their " baggage and munition seized on, his majesty's " forces lodged that night where they had gained " the victory, as by former letters of this board, of " the fourth of April 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, " we formerly signified thither: which we thus re- " peat, to manifest that that commission, or the " meeting thereupon, gave not any manner of inter- " ruption to the proceeding of the war.

" Concerning the letters you mention, to divest " the committee of both houses there of an authority " given them by both houses, we remember that his " majesty, by his letters of the third of February " 1642, understanding that the then justices and " council had admitted, without his order or know- " ledge, to sit in council with them in this his king- " dom, Mr. Robert Goodwin and Mr. Reynolds, and " that thereby they were become so bold, as to take " upon them to hear, and debate of matters treated " of in council, his majesty, by his said letters, sig- " nified by his express command, that they should " not be permitted to sit, or be present any more at " his majesty's council-table here; but if they had " any business, his majesty willed, that they should " attend as others of their quality: which his ma- " jesty's pleasure was humbly obeyed by his said " justices and council, with that duty and submis- " sion, which was due from them to his royal com- " mands. And as his majesty, by his said letters, " required, that, if those persons had any business, " they should attend, as others of their quality; so, " if they had afterwards offered any business at this " board, they should have been heard therein; which " was also signified to them before their departure

BOOK VII. 1643.

"hence. And now, upon this occasion, we having "perused the copies they delivered at this board, of "the order of both houses dated the sixth of Octo- "ber 1642, and of their instructions, do find indeed, "that, by the said order, the said Robert Reynolds, "and Robert Goodwin, were to have the credence, "power, and esteem of a committee sent hither by "the advice and authority of both houses of parlia- "ment; and that, by the said instructions, they were "to be admitted to be present, and vote at all con- "sultations concerning the war; yet there is nothing "in the said order, or instructions, for admitting "them to sit, or be present at his majesty's council- "table; which is that which his majesty, by his said "letters, required, should not be permitted; which "cannot be conceived to be a divesting them of any "authority given them by both houses.

"And as to the late alteration of government "here, expressed in your letters, although his ma- "jesty in his high wisdom adjudged it fit to alter "one of those governors, which he had placed here, "which was no more than he and his royal prede- "cessors had usually done in all ages, as often as "they thought fit, yet that made no alteration in "the government; but it in all times continued, and "still continues, the same, though in other persons.

"That part of your letters which declares, that "you are forbidden to tell us what supplies of "money, victual, ammunition, and other necessaries, "were then in a good forwardness to be sent hither "for the support of the officers and soldiers here, "requires no answer on our parts, other than this "truth, that they are not yet arrived here. Con- "cerning Mountrose's letters to colonel Crawford,

" we know of no treason to be discovered thereby; " but for the sea-captains in your letters mentioned, " it is certain that their neglects and misdeeds de- " serve punishment, which we desire they may find " rather to their correction, than to their ruin.

" Thus we have given answer to those parts of " your letters, which, we conceived, concerned us; " whereby, we hope, both houses of parliament there " will now remain satisfied, as in the necessity and " justice of our actions, so in the truth and candour " of our intentions, in those particulars to which " your said letters seem to take exception. And so " we remain,

From his majesty's castle of Dublin 28th of Oct. 1643.

" Your lordships' very loving friends,

Jo. Borlase.[z]	*Hen. Tichborne.*	*Rich. Bolton, Canc.*
La. Dublin.	*Ormond.*	*Roscommon.*
Ant. Midensis.	*Ed. Brabazon.*	*Char. Lambert.*
Geo. Shurley.	*Ger.*[a] *Lowther.*	*Tho. Rotherham.*
Fr. Willoughby.	*Tho. Lucas.*	*Ja. Ware.*
	G. Wentworth.	

The distractions in Ireland being, by means of the cessation,[b] in some degree allayed, and both parties having time to breathe, the king, in the next place, considered how he might apply that cessation to the advancement of his affairs in England. One of the principal motives that induced that cessation, was the miserable state of the army there, ready, through extreme wants, to disband; so that there being now less use of them there, and an impossibility to keep them, his majesty had it only in

[z] *Borlase.*] *Burlase.*

[a] *Ger.*] *Gor.*

[b] by means of the cessation,] by this means,

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his election, whether he should suffer them there to disband, and dispose of themselves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite disorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular disservice; or whether he should draw over such a number as might be safely spared, to his own assistance in England; to which he was assured, that the devotion and affection of most of the principal or considerable officers there cheerfully inclined; and of this latter he made little scruple to make choice, when he was not only informed of the preparations and readiness in Scotland to invade this kingdom; but that they had called over their old general, the earl of Leven, who commanded the Scotch forces in Ireland, and many other officers and soldiers out of that kingdom, to form and conduct their army into this; and that there were also arts and industry used, by some agents for the parliament, to persuade the English officers likewise to bring over their men for their service.

The king sends for part of the English army out of Ireland.

So that the king directed[c] the marquis of Ormond, to make choice of such regiments and troops as were necessary for the defence of the several garrisons, or as could be provided for, and supported in that kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for England. To which purpose, shipping was sent; with direction, that those from and about Dublin should be shipped for Chester, to be joined to those forces under the command of the lord Capel; whereby he might be able to resist the growing power of sir William Bruerton; who, by an addition of forces from London, and with the assistance of sir Thomas

[c] So that the king directed] So that having directed

Middleton, and sir John Gell, was grown very strong; being backed by Lancashire, which upon the matter was wholly reduced to the obedience of the parliament: and that the other forces out of Munster should be landed at Bristol, to be disposed by the lord Hopton; who was forming a new army, to oppose sir William Waller; who threatened an inroad into the west; or rather to seek him out by visiting Hampshire and Sussex, if the other were not ready to advance [d].

The court at Oxford [e] was much increased by the queen's presence, and the necessities were increased with the expense. All correspondence was absolutely broken with London, insomuch as a sworn messenger of the chamber, sent to London with a writ, and proclamation for the adjournment of the term to Oxford, was apprehended as a spy, (as hath been said before,) and executed by martial law; and the two houses had [f] caused a great seal to be made with the king's image and inscription, and put the same into the hands of commissioners; and so the courts were continued in Westminster-hall, for the despatch of justice, (as they called it,) as had been formerly, notwithstanding the king's proclamation. The money, which by [g] the particular persons of all conditions had been very plentifully supplied [h] in the beginning of the war, now near spent, and the stopping the intercourse with London, had shut the door against farther supply; so that all men were weary of the condition they were in, and expressed

[d] to advance.] *A very considerable portion is here omitted, which will be found in the Appendix E.*

[e] at Oxford] *Not in MS.*

[f] had] *Not in MS.*

[g] by] *Not in MS.*

[h] supplied] supplied with

BOOK VII. 1643. it, as weary men used to do, in murmurs and complaints. And now all the hope was in the convention of the members of parliament; which, being a new thing, suspended the present indisposition, and administered some expectation, what they, who came from all quarters of the kingdom, would do.

1644. According to the king's proclamation,[i] the mem-

[i] According to the king's proclamation, &c.] *This account of the meeting of the parliament at Oxford is taken from MS. C. In the other MS. it is thus described.* The king received them very graciously and formally in Ch. Ch. hall; made them a speech; and told them he would be glad to receive any advice from them for the good of the kingdom, and restoring it to peace; and wished them to consult together in those rooms which he had caused to be provided for them to sit in in the schools; whither both the peers and commons presently went, and the commons chose sergeant Evers to be their speaker, one of the king's sergeants at law, and in all respects superior to him who kept the chair at Westminster. There were very near three hundred of the house of commons appeared, when there were not above one hundred remained at Westminster, and very seldom so many; and of the whole house of peers there were seldom above ten or a dozen at Westminster, when there were above threescore at Oxford.

There were amongst the commons only two privy-counsellors, the master of the rolls (sir John Culpepper) and the chancellor of the exchequer, whose business it was to dispose the rest to think of the best expedient to provide present money, without which the army could not be able to march in the spring, which began to draw on; and to prevent the running into any excesses of discourse, which so great assemblies can very hardly be kept from; and till somewhat was begun amongst the commons, the peers had little to do. Though they all seemed very sensible of the straits the king was in, and resolved to do all that should be in their power to mend it; yet they had a great desire to try what could be done towards peace, that what they did else in order to carrying on the war might find the more credit with the people; and nobody endeavoured to divert them from prosecuting their desire. So that it was quickly agreed that they should prosecute both designs, to get money and to get peace, together; at least that one might be the business of one day, and the other of the next. They were long considering in what method to put their desires of peace: they knew not how to move the king to make any offer; nor would that way have

bers of both houses of parliament, who had withdrawn out of conscience and duty from those at Westminster, appeared at Oxford at the day appointed; except such as could not reasonably be absent from their commands in the counties, where the armies were. They were [k] graciously and so-

The members of both houses met at Oxford.

satisfied them, except they might stand in such a place with his majesty that the motion might appear to proceed from them, and that they might be engaged in the treaty; which the king would have been hardly induced to consent to. It was wished that the two houses at Oxford could dispose those at Westminster, that they might concur together to be suitors to the king; that they might enter upon a treaty, and frame some propositions to be offered to him. But that quickly appeared unpracticable; for they above had already, by an ordinance, (as they termed it,) declared against that meeting of the members at Oxford with many terms of reproach, and menaces; so that it was evident enough, that no correspondence or commerce could possibly grow between them. In the end, it was proposed and agreed, that a letter should be prepared and signed by every member present of the peers and of the commons, and directed to the earl of Essex, informing him of their meeting at Oxford upon his majesty's command; that they found the king very desirous of a just and an honourable peace, that the kingdom might be restored to happiness; and that they therefore desired him to use his credit and interest with the parliament, that they might be disposed to the same inclinations, upon which a treaty might be entered upon; with those expressions as carried a confidence of his concurrence with them. When this letter was framed, they delivered it at a conference to the lords, and desired their concurrence, and that they would move the king, that the general might send this letter, when it was signed, with a trumpet to the earl of Essex, according to the custom observed between them. The lords concurred, the king was content, the letter was signed as aforesaid, and sent by the general with a trumpet to the earl of Essex; who sent the general word, that he had sent it to the parliament; who laid it aside with scorn, and made no answer to it, as was foreseen, at least by discerning men: whereupon they at Oxford published a declaration to the people, with sharpness against those at Westminster, as not only the beginners of the war, but those who rejected all overtures of peace and accommodation. The hope of peace &c. *as in page 416, line 1.*

[k] They were] Who were

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lemnly welcomed by his majesty, with that ceremony which is used at the opening of a parliament; when his majesty told them:

The substance of the king's speech to them.

"That he had called them to be witnesses of his "actions, and privy to his intentions; and that he "desired to receive any advice from them, which "they thought would be suitable to the miserable "and distracted condition of the kingdom; in presenting whereof, they should use all that parliamentary freedom which would be due to them if "they were with him at Westminster, and which, "with all their other privileges, they should enjoy "at Oxford, though they could not in the other "place;" with many expressions of grace towards them, and confidence in them. As soon as they had withdrawn to those places which were assigned to their counsels, both lords and commons entered upon the deliberation of all possible expedients, in order to peace; most men believing, according to the reason and conscience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was greater, to dispose those at London to the honesty and confidence of a treaty, than, in that treaty, to agree on such conclusions as might[1] be satisfactory to all parties; judging it impossible, that men could desire to bring ruin and desolation upon their country, if they were once persuaded that it might be prevented with their own preservation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a disposition to intercourse, appeared very hard. When they thought of advising the king to send a gracious message and overture to the two houses, they pre-

[1] as might] which might

sently remembered and considered what his majesty had already done that way, and how ill returns of reverence and duty he had received from them; that to the two last messages he had sent (it being not possible now to send any more gracious and obliging) they had never returned answer, and that they still detained his last messenger in strict durance, after having exposed him to a trial for his life at a court of war: that they had prohibited any kind of address to be made to them from his majesty, except through the hands of the earl of Essex their general. From thence those at Oxford[m] entered upon the disquisition, how they might engage his lordship to the same thoughts and desires with them; to the which they easily believed, experience, observation, and interest, would engage him. They persuaded themselves, that the principal ground which had hitherto frustrated all overtures from his majesty towards peace, was the conscience those at Westminster had[n] of their own guilt, and the jealousy that proceeded from thence, that no peace could secure them, whilst there was power left in his majesty; but that they could not possibly suspect the performance and exact observation of any agreement, which should be concluded upon the intercession of all the king's party; which must be security for the accomplishment of it. From[o] the reasonableness of this assertion, they entertained an assurance, that the earl of Essex would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in promoting the overture; which was all they desired: for that would remove those forms, which, as so

1644.

[m] those at Oxford] they *Not in MS.*

[n] those at Westminster had] [o] From] And from

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many rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the lords and commons, the members of both houses, resolved to write a letter to the earl of Essex, in their own names, which, with the king's consent, was by trumpet sent to him, within four days after their meeting. The letter was in these very terms.

They send a letter to the earl of Essex.

"My lord,[p]

"His majesty having, by his proclamation of the "twenty-second of December, (upon the occasion of "the invasion threatened, and in part begun, by "some of his subjects of Scotland,) summoned all "the members of both houses of parliament, to at- "tend him here at Oxford, we whose names are "underwritten are here met and assembled, in obe- "dience to those his majesty's commands. His "majesty was pleased to invite us, in the said pro- "clamation, by these gracious expressions, that his "subjects should see, how willing he was to receive "advice, for the preservation of the religion, laws, "and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as in him "lay, to restore it to its former peace and security "(his chief and only end) from those whom they "had trusted; though he could not receive it in "the place where he appointed. This most gra- "cious invitation hath not only been made good "unto us, but seconded and heightened by such "unquestionable demonstrations of the deep and "princely sense, which possesses his royal heart, of "the miseries and calamities of his poor subjects in "this unnatural war, and of his most entire and "passionate affections to redeem them from that

[p] My lord, &c.] *In the hand-writing of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

" sad and deplorable condition, by all ways possible, " consistent either with his honour, or with the fu- " ture safety of the kingdom, that as it were im- " piety to question the sincerity of them, so were it " great want of duty and faithfulness in us, (his ma- " jesty having vouchsafed to declare, that he did " call us to be witnesses of his actions, and privy to " his intentions,) should we not testify, and witness " to all the world, the assurance we have of the " piety and sincerity of both. We being most en- " tirely satisfied of this truth, we cannot but con- " fess, that amidst our highest afflictions, in the " deep and piercing sense of the present miseries " and desolations of our country, and those farther " dangers threatened from Scotland, we are at length " erected to some cheerful and comfortable thoughts, " that possibly we may yet (by God's mercy, if his " justice have not determined this nation, for its " sins, to total ruin and desolation) hope to be " happy instruments of our country's redemption, " from the miseries of war, and restitution to the " blessing of peace.

" And we being desirous to believe your lordship, " however engaged, a person likely to be sensibly " touched with these considerations, have thought " fit to invite you to that part in this blessed work, " which is only capable to repair all our misfor- " tunes, and to buoy up the kingdom from ruin; " that is, by conjuring you by all the obligations " that have power upon honour, conscience, or pub- " lic piety, that laying to heart, as we do, the in- " ward bleeding condition of your country, and the " outward more menacing destruction by a foreign " nation, upon the very point of invading it, you

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" will cooperate with us to its preservation, by truly " representing to, and faithfully and industriously " promoting with, those by whom you are trusted, " this following most sincere and most earnest de- " sire of ours; that they joining with us in a right " sense of the past, present, and more threatening " calamities of this deplorable kingdom, some per- " sons be appointed on either part, and a place " agreed on, to treat of such a peace, as may yet " redeem it from the brink of desolation.

" This address we should not have made, but " that his majesty's summons, by which we are met, " most graciously proclaiming pardon to all without " exception, is evidence enough, that his mercy and " clemency can transcend all former provocations; " and that he hath not only made us witnesses of " his princely intentions, but honoured us also with " the name of being security for them. God Al- " mighty direct your lordship, and those to whom " you shall present these our most real desires, in " such a course as may produce that happy peace, " and settlement of the present distractions; which " is so heartily desired, and prayed for, by us, and " which may make us,

" Your &c."

From Oxford 29th of Jan. 1643.

This letter was subscribed by his highness the prince, the duke of York, and three and forty dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons,[q] and one hundred and eighteen members of the house of commons; there being such expedition used in the de-

[q] barons,] barons of the house of peers,

spatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferred for a greater subscription: albeit it was known that many lords and commoners were upon the way, who came within few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty peers absent with his majesty's leave, and employed in his affairs and armies, in the kingdom; and ten at the same time in the parts beyond the seas. So that the numbers at London were very thin; for there were not above two and twenty peers, who either sat in the parliament, or were engaged in their party; that is to say, the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bullingbrook; the lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Warke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrick, Rochfort, and Robarts; who were present, or had proxies there.

The trumpeter found the earl of Essex at his house in London; where he was detained three or four days; during which time, the committee of both houses, that committee which they called the committee of safety for the two kingdoms, (the Scottish commissioners being a part of it,) resorted to the earl[r] for his advice: and in the end, the trumpeter[s] returned with this short letter to the earl of Forth, the king's general.

"My lord,

"I received this day a letter, of the twenty-ninth "of this instant, from your lordship, and a parch- "ment subscribed by the prince, duke of York, and

The earl of Essex's answer directed to the earl of

[r] the earl] him

[s] the trumpeter] he

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"divers other lords and gentlemen; but it neither "having address to the two houses of parliament, "nor therein, there being any acknowledgment of "them, I could not communicate it to them. My "lord, the maintenance of the parliament of Eng- "land, and of the privileges thereof, is that for "which we are[t] resolved to spend our blood; as "being the foundation whereupon all our laws and "liberties are built. I send your lordship herewith "a national covenant, solemnly entered into by both "the kingdoms of England and Scotland; and a "declaration passed by them both together, with "another declaration of the kingdom of Scotland. "I rest

"Your lordship's &c."

Forth, with the two following declarations.

What the covenant was, being the same particularly set down before, I need not mention; and the declarations are as public, and would be thought too large to be in this place inserted, to the interruption of the thread of this discourse; yet it cannot be amiss to make a short extract of some particular heads or conclusions of them; that the world may see what kind of reasoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the king.

An extract of the declaration of the kingdom of Scotland.

That declaration of the kingdom of Scotland alone, was, to justify their present expedition into England; in which they said, "It was most neces- "sary, that every one, against all doubting, should "be persuaded in his mind of the lawfulness of his "undertaking, and of the goodness of the cause

[t] we are] we are all

" maintained by him; which they said was no other, " than the good of religion in England, and the de- " liverance of their brethren out of the depths of " affliction; the preservation of their own religion, " and of themselves from the extremity of misery, " and the safety of their native king, and his king- " doms, from destruction and desolation. Any one " of which, (they said,) by all law divine and hu- " man, was too just cause of taking of arms; how " much more, when all of them were joined in one? " And therefore, they wished any man, who did " withdraw, and hide himself in such a debate and " controversy, to consider, whether he were not a " hater of his brethren, against Christian and com- " mon charity; an hater of himself and his poste- " rity, against the law and light of nature; an hater " of the king, and his kingdoms, against loyalty, " and common duty; and a hater of God, against " all religion, and peace."

They said, " the question was not, nor need they " dispute, whether they might propagate their reli- " gion by arms; but whether, according to their " power, they ought to assist their brethren in Eng- " land, who were calling for their help, and were " shedding their blood in defence of that power, " without which religion could neither be defended " nor reformed; nor unity of religion with them, " and other reformed kirks, be attained. So that, " they said, the question was no sooner rightly " stated, but it was as soon resolved; and con- " cluded, *that the Lord would save them from the* " *curse of Meroz, who came not to help the Lord* " *against the mighty.* They said, the question " could not be, as their enemies would make it,

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" whether they should enter into England, and lift " arms against their own king, who had promised " and done as much, as might secure them in their " own religion, and liberties: but whether against " the popish, prelatical, and malignant party, their " adherents prevailing in England and Ireland, they " were not bound to provide for their own preser- " vation. That they might well have known, from " their continual experience, ever since the time of " their first reformation, especially after the two " kingdoms were united under one head and mon- " arch, and from the principles of their own decla- " rations, in the time of their late troubles and dan- " gers, that they could not long, like Goshen, enjoy " their light, if darkness should cover the face of " other reformed kirks: that Judah could not long " continue in liberty, if Israel were led away in " captivity; and that the condition of the one kirk " and kingdom, whether in religion or peace, must " be common to both.

" They said, the question was not, whether they " should presume to be arbitrators in the matter, " now debated by fire and sword, betwixt his ma- " jesty and the houses of parliament; which might " seem to be foreign and extrinsical to that nation, " and wherein they might be conceived to have no " interest; but whether, their mediation and inter- " cession being rejected by the one side, upon hope " of victory, or suppose by both sides, upon confi- " dence of their own strength and several successes, " it were not their duty, it being in their power, to " stop or prevent the effusion of Christian blood; or " whether they ought not to endeavour to rescue " their native king, his crown, and posterity, out of

"the midst of so many dangers, and to preserve his "people and kingdom from ruin and destruction. "If every private man were bound in duty to inter- "pose himself as a reconciler and sequestrator be- "tween his neighbours, armed to their mutual de- "struction; if the son ought to hazard his own life "for the preservation of his father and brother, at "variance one against the other, should a kingdom "sit still, and suffer their king and neighbouring "kingdom to perish in an unnatural war? In the "time of animosity, and appetite of revenge, such "an interposing might be an irritation; but after- "wards, when the eyes of the mind, no more blood- "run with passion, did discern things right, it would "be no grief or offence of heart, but matter of "thanksgiving to God, and to the instruments which "had kept from shedding blood, and from revenge."

With this kind of divinity, and this kind of logic, to shew that they had a clear prospect of whatever[u] could be said against them, they resolved to invade their neighbour nation, and to interpose themselves as reconcilers, by joining against their native and natural king, with his rebellious subjects, in all the acts of animosity and blood, which have been ever practised in the most raging and furious civil war.

An extract of the declaration of England and Scotland.

The other declaration, mentioned in the earl's letter, was a declaration passed, and published in the name of both kingdoms, England and Scotland, after their marriage by their new league and covenant, and about the very time that this very[x] overture for peace came from Oxford. They were now both equally inspired with the Scottish dialect and

[u] whatever] whatsoever

[x] very] *Not in MS.*

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spirit; talked, "how clearly the light of the gospel "shined amongst them; that they placed not their "confidence in their own counsels and strength; "but their confidence was in God Almighty, the "Lord of Hosts, who would not leave nor forsake "his people. It was his own truth and cause, which "they maintained against the heresy, superstition, "and tyranny of Antichrist: the glory of his name, "the exaltation of the kingdom of his Son, and the "preservation of his church, was their aim, and the "end which they had before their eyes. It was his "covenant, which they had solemnly in both nations "sworn, and subscribed; which he would not have "put in their hearts to do, if he had been minded to "destroy them. Upon these and the like grounds "and considerations, being confident that this war, "wherein both nations were so firmly united, and "deeply engaged, was of God, they resolve with "courage and constancy to the end to do their part; "and the Lord, who had stirred up their spirits, dis-"played his banner before them, and given the "alarm,[y] do that which seemeth him good."

They gave now "public warning to all men to "rest no longer upon their neutrality, or to please "themselves with the naughty and slothful pretext "of indifferency; but that they address themselves "speedily to take the covenant, and join, with all "their power, in the defence of this cause against "the common enemy; and by their zeal, and for-"wardness hereafter, to make up what had been "wanting through their lukewarmness; this they "would find to be their greatest wisdom and safety;

[y] alarm,] alarum,

" otherwise they did declare them to be public ene-
" mies to their religion and country; and that they
" were to be censured and punished, as professed
" adversaries, and malignants."

Then they proclaimed " a pardon to all those who
" would before such a day desert the king, and ad-
" here to them, and take the covenant;" and con-
cluded, " that they made not that declaration from
" any presumption, or vain glorying in the strength
" of their armies and forces, but from the sense of
" their duty, which was required and expected from
" the high places, and public relations, wherein they
" stood; and from the assurance they had of the as-
" sistance of God, by whose providence, the trust
" and safety of those kingdoms was put into their
" hands at this time; having, after long and grave
" consultation, resolved and decreed never to lay
" down arms, till truth and peace, by the blessing of
" God, be settled in this island, upon a firm founda-
" tion for the present and future generations; which,
" they said, should be esteemed of them an abundant
" reward of all that they could do, or suffer in that
" cause."

These were the declarations which the earl of Essex, together with the covenant, sent, as an answer to that letter from the prince of Wales, and those lords and gentlemen; which might have been the foundation of an honest and honourable peace to all the king's dominions. And I cannot but observe, that after this time that the earl declined this opportunity of declaring himself, he never did prosperous act[z] in the remainder of his life; but whereas be-

[z] prosperous act] gallant or prosperous act

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fore, he had throughout the course of his command, how unwarrantably soever undertaken, behaved himself with very signal courage and conduct, and at this time was adorned with the testimony of friends and enemies, of a right good general, upon the conclusion of the business of Gloucester; he never, after his taking this covenant, and writing this letter, did one successful[a] thing; but proved unfortunate in all he went about, even to his death; of which we shall say more in its place.

We[b] the rather extracted these short clauses of those two declarations, that posterity may observe the divine hand of Almighty God upon the people of these miserable kingdoms; that after they had broken loose from that excellent form and practice of religion, which their ancestors and themselves had observed and enjoyed, with a greater measure of happiness, than almost any nation lived under, so long a time; and after they had cancelled and thrown off those admirable and incomparable laws of government, which was compounded of so much exact reason, that all possible mischiefs were foreseen, and provided against by it[c]; they should be now captivated by a profane and presumptuous entitling themselves to God's favour, and using his holy name in that manner, that all sober Christians must[d] stand scandalized, and amazed at; and should[e] be deluded by such a kind of reasoning and debate, as, one would think,[f] could only impose upon men unnurtured, and unacquainted with any knowledge or science.

[a] successful] brave
[b] We] And we
[c] by it] *Not in MS.*
[d] must] *Omitted in MS.*
[e] should] *Not in MS.*
[f] one would think,] *Not in MS.*

There wanted not a just indignation at the return of this trumpet; and yet the answer being so much in that [g] popular road, of saying something plausibly to the people, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the world might see, that they did, in plain English, refuse to admit of any peace. So the earl of Forth was advised to write again to the other general, for a safe conduct for two gentlemen then named, against whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from Westminster, to be sent by his majesty concerning a treaty of peace. To this the earl of Essex returned answer, "that "whensoever he should receive any directions to "those who had intrusted him, he should use his "best endeavours; and when a safe conduct should "be desired for those gentlemen, mentioned in his "letter, from his majesty to the houses of parlia-"ment, his lordship would, with all cheerfulness, "shew his willingness to farther any way that "might produce that happiness, which all honest "men prayed for; which is a true understanding "between his majesty, and his faithful and only "council, the parliament."

This expression of his resolution of interposing, if he had a letter from his majesty to the houses of parliament, (together with some intimation in letters from London, which at these seasons never wanted,) persuaded many, that the earl wanted only an opportunity to possess the houses with the overture, and if it were once within the walls, there were so many well affected to peace, that the proposition would not be rejected; though no particular person,

[g] in that] out of that

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or combination of men, had the courage, of themselves, to propose it. And therefore at the same time, making all possible preparations for the field, as the scene where the differences were like to be decided, his majesty was prevailed with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to send this ensuing message, which was enclosed to the earl of Essex, to be by him managed.

The king's message to both houses.

"Out of our [h] most tender and pious sense of the "sad and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, and "our unwearied desires to apply all remedies, which, "by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it "from an utter ruin, by the advice of the lords and "commons of parliament, assembled at Oxford, we "do propound, and desire, that a convenient number "of fit persons may be appointed, and authorized "by you, to meet, with all convenient speed, at such "place as you shall nominate, with an equal number "of fit persons whom we shall appoint, and author-"ize to treat of the ways and means to settle the "present distractions of this our kingdom, and to "procure a happy peace: and particularly, how all "the members of both houses may securely meet in "a full and free convention of parliament, there to "treat, consult, and agree upon such things, as may "conduce to the maintenance and defence of the "true reformed protestant religion, with due con-"sideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender "consciences; to the settling and maintaining of our "just rights and privileges, of the rights and privi-"leges of parliament, the laws of the land, the "liberty and property of the subject, and all other

[h] Out of our, &c.] *This message is in the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

" expedients, that may conduce to that blessed end " of a firm and lasting peace both in church and " state, and a perfect understanding betwixt us and " our people: wherein no endeavours or concur- " rence of ours shall be wanting: and God direct " your hearts in the way of peace. 1644.

" *Given at our court at Oxford, 3d March* 1643[i]."

This message being signed by his majesty, was superscribed to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster; which, though it was a style they could not reasonably except against, was yet no other than the lords and commons at Oxford took upon themselves, as they well might. After two or three debates[k] in the houses, and with the Scottish commissioners, without whose concurrence nothing was transacted, this answer was returned to his majesty; which put a period to all men's hopes, who imagined that there might be any disposition in those councils to any possible and honest accommodation.

" May it please your majesty:[l]

" We the lords and commons assembled in the " parliament of England, taking into our considera- " tion a letter sent from your majesty, dated the " 3d of March instant, and directed to the lords " and commons of parliament assembled at West- " minster, (which, by the contents of a letter from " the earl of Forth unto the lord general the earl of " Essex, we conceive was intended to ourselves,) " have resolved with the concurrent advice and

The two houses' answer.

[i] 1643] *i. e. Old Style.*

[k] debates] days' debate

[l] May it please your majesty: &c.] *This answer is in the handwriting of lord Clarendon's amanuensis.*

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"consent of the commissioners of the kingdom of "Scotland, to represent to your majesty, in all hu- "mility and plainness, as followeth: That as we "have used all means for a just and safe peace, so "will we never be wanting to do our utmost for "the procuring thereof; but when we consider the "expressions in that letter of your majesty's, we "have more sad and despairing thoughts of attain- "ing the same than ever, because thereby, those "persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary "to their duty, have deserted your parliament, are "put into an equal condition with it. And this "present parliament, convened according to known[m] "and fundamental laws of the kingdom, (the con- "tinuance whereof is established by a law consented "to[n] by your majesty,) is in effect denied to be a "parliament; the scope and intention of that letter "being to make provision how all the members, as "is pretended, of both houses may securely meet in "a full and free convention of parliament; whereof "no other conclusion can be made, but that this "present parliament is not a full, nor free conven- "tion; and that to make it a full and free conven- "tion of parliament, the presence of those is neces- "sary, who, notwithstanding that they have de- "serted that great trust, and do levy war against "the parliament, are pretended to be members of "the two houses of parliament.

"And hereupon we think ourselves bound to let "your majesty know, that seeing the continuance "of this parliament is settled by a law, which (as "all other laws of your kingdom) your majesty "hath sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our

[m] known] the known [n] to] unto

" allegiance to your majesty, (these obligations be-
" ing reciprocal,) we must in duty, and accordingly
" are resolved, with our lives and fortunes, to de-
" fend and preserve the just rights and full power
" of this parliament; and do beseech your majesty
" to be assured, that your majesty's royal and
" hearty concurrence with us herein will be the
" most effectual and ready means of procuring a
" firm and lasting peace in all your majesty's do-
" minions, and begetting[o] a perfect understanding
" between your majesty and your people: without
" which, your majesty's most earnest professions,
" and our most real intentions concerning the same,
" must necessarily be frustrated. And in case your
" majesty's three kingdoms should, by reason there-
" of, remain in this sad and bleeding condition,
" tending, by the continuance of this unnatural war,
" to their ruin, your majesty cannot be the least
" nor the last sufferer. God in his goodness incline
" your royal breast, out of pity and compassion to
" those deep sufferings of your innocent people, to
" put a speedy and happy issue to these desperate
" evils, by the joint advice of both your kingdoms,
" now happily united in this cause by their late so-
" lemn league and covenant; which as it will prove
" the surest remedy, so it is the earnest prayer of
" your majesty's loving[p] subjects, the lords and
" commons assembled in the parliament of England.

" *Grey of Warke,*

" *Speaker of the house of peers in parliament* pro tempore:

" *William Lenthall,*

" *Speaker of the house of commons in parliament.*

" *Westminster, the 9th of Mar.* 1643."

[o] begetting] of begetting

[p] loving] loyal

BOOK VII. 1644.

The hope of peace, by this kind of interposition, did not in any degree make the counsels remiss for the providing of money to supply the army: upon which they had more hope than from a treaty. But the expedients for money were not easily thought on; [q] though there was a considerable part of the kingdom within the king's quarters, the inhabitants were frequently robbed and plundered by the incursions of the enemy, and not very well secured against the royal troops, who begun [r] to practise all the licence of war. The nobility and gentry, who were not officers of the army, lived for the most part in Oxford; and all that they could draw from their estates, was but enough for their own subsistence; they durst not enter upon charging the people in general, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a parliament; and their care was, that the common people might be preserved from burdens; and they were as careful not to expose the king's honour, or name, to affronts and refusals; but were willing that the envy and clamour, if there should be any, should fall upon themselves.

Means agreed upon by the lords and commons at Oxford to raise money.

They appointed all the members of the commons, "to bring in the names of all the gentlemen of "estate, and other persons who were reputed to be "rich, within their several precincts; and what sum "of money every body might be well able to supply "the king with, in this exigent of the public state." And then a form of a letter was conceived, which should be sent to every one of them, for such a sum; "the letter to be subscribed by the two "speakers of the houses, to the end that the people

[q] on;] upon;

[r] begun] began

"might know, that it was by the advice of the "members of parliament assembled there; which "was as much the advice of parliament, as could "be delivered at that time in the kingdom." When the way and method of this was approved by the lords, and his majesty likewise consented to it; they begun,[s] the better to encourage others, with themselves; and caused letters to be signed and delivered to the several members of both houses, "for "such sums as they were well disposed to furnish;" which were to that proportion as gave good encouragement to others; and the like letters to all persons of condition who were in the town. And by this means, there was a sum raised in ready money, and credit, that did supply many necessary occasions, near the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, whereof some came in every day, to enable the king to provide for the next campaign;[t] which, the spring coming on, was to be expected early; the parliament at Westminster[u] having raised vast sums of money, and being like to bring many armies into the field. All, who were to furnish money upon these letters, had liberty to bring, or send it in plate, if that was for their convenience; the king having called the officers and workmen of his mint to Oxford, who coined such plate as was brought in; his majesty likewise made a grant of some forests, parks, and other lands, to certain persons in trust, for the securing of such money as should be borrowed, or those persons who should be bound for the payment of such money; and by this means likewise many considerable sums of money were procured, and

[s] begun,] began,
[t] campaign;] campania;
[u] at Westminster] *Not in MS.*

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cloth, and shoes, and shirts, were provided for the army.

The two houses at Westminster, who called themselves, and they are often called in this discourse, the parliament, had at this time by an ordinance, that is an order of both houses, laid an imposition, which they called an excise, upon wine, beer, ale, and many other commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically set down by them, for the carrying on the war. This[x] was the first time that ever the name of payment of excise was heard of or practised in England; laid on by those who pretended to be most jealous of any exaction upon the people: and this pattern being then printed, and published at London, was thought by the members at Oxford, as a good expedient to be followed by the king; and thereupon it was settled, and to be governed and regulated by commissioners, in the same method it was done at London. And in Oxford, Bristol, and other garrisons, it did yield a reasonable supply for the provision of arms and ammunition; which, for the most part, it was assigned to; both sides making ample declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the necessity that drew on this imposition, "that it should be continued no "longer than to the end of the war, and then laid "down, and utterly abolished;" which few wise men believed it would ever be.

The two houses at Westminster impose an excise.

The two houses at Oxford follow the example.

The high and insolent proceedings at Westminster made no impression at Oxford towards the shaking the allegiance and courage of those, whom his majesty had called to advise him. But when

[x] This] And this

they found the temper of the other so much, above belief, averse to peace, and intending utter ruin to the king, the church, and all who should continue true Englishmen and subjects, they resolved as frankly to declare their resolutions, that the people might see the issue they were at; and therefore they published a declaration of the grounds and motives which had forced them to leave the parliament at Westminster; in which they mentioned "all the indirect passages, and the acts of violence, by which "they had been driven thence; and the obligations "upon them in conscience, and law, to adhere to "his majesty; and the misery which the other "party had already brought upon the kingdom, and "the desolation which must inevitably follow those "conclusions; and with a greater unanimity and "consent, than was ever known in so great a coun-"cil, where there were so many persons of honour, "and judges, and others learned in the law, among "whom there was scarce one dissenting voice, they "declared,

The substance of the declaration of the lords and commons at Oxford.

1. "That all such subjects of Scotland, as had "consented to the declaration, entitled the declara-"tion of the kingdom of Scotland concerning the "present expedition into England, had thereby de-"nounced war against the kingdom of England, "and broke the act of pacification.

2. "That all his majesty's subjects of the king-"dom of England and dominion of Wales are both "by their allegiance, and the act of pacification, "bound to resist and repress all those of Scotland "as had, or should enter upon any part of his ma-"jesty's realm and dominions, as traitors, and ene-"mies to the state; and that whosoever should

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" abet, aid, or assist the Scots in their invasion, " should be deemed as traitors, and enemies to the " state.

3. " That the lords and commons remaining at " Westminster, that had given their votes, or con- " sent, to the raising of forces under the command " of the earl of Essex, or had been abetting, aiding, " or assisting thereunto, had levied and raised war " against the king, and were therein guilty of high " treason.

4. " That those lords and commons remaining at " Westminster, that had given their votes and con- " sents for the making and using a new great seal, " had thereby counterfeited the king's great seal, " and therein committed high treason.

5. " That the lords and commons remaining at " Westminster, who had given their consents to the " present coming in of the Scots in a warlike man- " ner, had therein committed high treason: and " that in these three last crimes, they had broken " the trust reposed in them by their country, and " ought to be proceeded against as traitors to the " king and kingdom."

So that[y] the engagements seemed fuller of animosity on both sides than ever; and the king exceedingly strengthened by the lords and commons having more positively and concernedly wedded his cause, than they were before understood to have done; and in truth, in the civil counsels, nothing

[y] So that] *Thus in MS.*: Over and above these sharp and high conclusions, in a diameter contrary to all the proceedings of parliament, they entered upon a way of raising a present sum of one hundred thousand pounds for the putting his majesty's armies into an equipage to take the field early in the spring; so that &c.

was left undone to give it all imaginable advancement.

It had been very happy for the king, if the winter had been spent only in those counsels which might have provided money, and facilitated the making his army ready to take the field in the spring; when he was sure to have occasion enough to use it; and to be in great distress, if it should not be then in a condition to march: but the invasion, which the Scots made in the depth of winter, and the courage the enemy took from thence, deprived his majesty even of any rest in that season. Upon the Scots' unexpected march into England in January, in a most violent frost and snow, hoping to reach Newcastle before it could be fortified, and persuading their common soldiers, that it would be delivered to them as soon as required; thither the vigilant sir Thomas Glemham had been before sent to attend their coming; and the marquis of Newcastle with his army, upon the fame of their invasion, marched thither with a resolution to fight with them before they should be able to join with the English rebels; leaving in the mean time the command of York, and the forces for the guard of that county, to colonel John Bellasis, son to the lord Falconbridge, a person of great interest in the country, and of exemplary industry and courage. But by this means, and the remove of the marquis with his army so far north, the enemy grew to a great strength in those parts; and not only able to disquiet Yorkshire, but drawing a great body of horse and foot out of Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Lincolnshire, sat down before his majesty's garrison of Newark upon Trent, with a full confidence to take

The marquis of Newcastle marches to oppose the Scots.

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it, and so to cut off all correspondence between his majesty and the marquis of Newcastle. And sir Thomas [z] Fairfax from Hull, in the head of a strong party, had fallen upon a quarter not far from York, commanded by colonel John Bellasis at Selby, and had totally defeated it, taken the cannon, and many officers prisoners, and amongst those the colonel himself. This was the first action for which sir Thomas Fairfax was taken notice of; who in a short time grew the supreme general under the parliament. This defeat, which was great in itself, was made much greater by the terrible apprehensions the city of York had upon it; insomuch that the marquis of Newcastle, who till then had kept the Scots at a bay, found it necessary to withdraw [a] his army, and with great part [b] of it to make haste into York, to prevent any farther mischief there; by which means the Scots were at liberty to advance as they pleased; and Fairfax improved his reputation by a speedy and unlooked for march into Cheshire. [c]

Sir Thomas Fairfax defeats and takes colonel Bellasis at Selby:

Whereupon the marquis of Newcastle retires to York.

[z] And sir Thomas] *This paragraph in MS. B. was thus connected with page* 418, *line* 28, *which immediately preceded it.* The winter being spent in this manner, in these deliberations and provisions, many melancholic presages appeared in the spring. Under the countenance of the Scots entering into England, the rebels grew strong in all the northern parts, the garrison of Hull skirmished over all the adjacent parts, and sir Thomas &c.

[a] withdraw] draw

[b] great part] a part

[c] into Cheshire.] *The following portion is omitted:* As soon as the king was assured that the Scots did resolve to invade England, he thought it necessary, if it were possible, to extinguish the fire in one of his dominions; and so considered Ireland as the most like to be capable of that blessing. Though the English had hitherto in all encounters beaten the Irish, so that they came to no action with them, but they presently fled to their bogs; yet the indiscretion of the lords justices, who observed very willingly the most rigorous directions from the parliament, had

Upon the cessation in Ireland, the king made the marquis of Ormond his lieutenant of that kingdom;

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driven and united the whole Irish nation, and almost all the catholics of Ireland, into rebellion; so that their numbers even covered the whole kingdom. The parliament gave over sending supplies thither, having applied many of the men they had raised for that service with the king's approbation, and very much of the money, against the king, in carrying on the war in England; and had upon the matter given up the province of Ulster to the Scots, who were with a numerous army there, independent upon the king's authority, and were grown to be more apprehended by the English than the Irish themselves. The lords justices and council in Ireland had sent commissioners to the king and to the parliament, to desire supplies of men and money and arms and ammunition, without which they professed that Ireland must be lost, and fall into the hands of the Irish; and one of the commissioners, sir Hardress Waller, came to the chancellor of the exchequer, and making a large discourse of the state of Ireland, and of the jealousies and divisions amongst the Irish themselves, told him that there was no way to preserve that kingdom, since he saw evidently the king should not send supplies thither, but to make a peace there, by which he would in a short time be able to suppress the rebellion in England. And sure the man was at that time of that opinion: and it is as true, many professions had been made by the Irish of their loyalty and devotion to the king's service; and there were many differences and jealousies grown between them. Those within the pale, who were all of old English families, planted there many ages before, and now become Irish in their language and manners, had purposes very different from those of the old Irish families, who for the most part were of Ulster, who looked upon the other as original intruders, and thought of making some foreign dependence, and never more to return to their obedience of the crown of England. And yet Owen O'Neale, who was the general of that party, had writ to the king, and made large offers of his service; but his majesty had hearkened to no motions of that kind, nor had any man the inclination or the hardiness to make any proposition to him in favour of the Irish. But when his majesty from all hands understood the desperate or hopeless condition of that kingdom, and that the Scots were ready to enter, he resolved to try what might be done, and to put his own authority there into the hands of one he might entirely trust; and had thereupon made the marquis of Ormond his lieutenant of Ireland, and gave him authority to treat with the Irish; and if he could bring them to consent to a cessation of arms, and to send over persons to

The marquis of Ormond made lord lieutenant of Ireland, sends the king assistance.

BOOK VII. and appointed him to make use of the winter season

1644. treat with him at Oxford for a peace, he might then draw over some of his own English troops to reinforce his army against the time of taking the field. And that design having succeeded according to his wish, and a cessation being made, the marquis of Ormond had in the winter sent him two or three regiments of foot, and two or three troops of horse, out of Munster, to Bristol, and a much greater body of foot, being between three and four thousand, from Dublin to Chester, all men brave and hardy, and well disciplined under as good officers of all kinds as the nation had: all which arrived in season, and would have been a noble recruit to the king's army, upon which his majesty depended.

The lord Byron, a gallant gentleman of courage, but of no long experience in the war, was then governor of Chester and Shropshire, when those regiments landed; and finding both the men as well as their officers willing to be engaged in present service, having not been used to the ease of winter quarters, he had a great desire to make some attempt with them. All Shropshire and Cheshire was at that time upon the point under the king's obedience; only the town of Nantwich in Cheshire, and upon the confines of the other county, was in rebellion, and garrisoned by the parliament; the defence and strength of it consisting more in the malice of the inhabitants, than in the security of their fortifications, which were not good any where, and in some parts none at all, but defended by the winter, and the deepness of the ways, through which cannon could not then march. The lord Byron had some intelligence in the town, and believed the condition of it to be so ill, that he might quickly become master of it; and therefore he had written to Oxford, upon the landing of the troops from Ireland, that if the king would give him leave to use those troops, he should be able in very few days to reduce Nantwich, which would be scarce out of their way to Oxford; and would remove a pestilent obstruction in that line of communication. The king made little pause in the matter; and so in the very hard frost the lord Byron brought all his troops before it, drawing out of Chester and Shrewsbury as many of the garrisons as could be spared, with a good body of horse. He found the town not so weak as he thought it to be, and stayed longer before it than he ought to have done, until sir Thomas Fairfax, flushed by his victory at Selby, and recruited with new troops out of Hull, came to its relief, with a less number of men than he was to expect to encounter: but by the marching of the garrison out of the town, and by beating the body of horse which were placed too far from the foot, and made no stand, but was presently routed, the whole

(when the parliament ships could not attend that body of foot betook themselves to a neighbour church, which they defended only to make conditions; and so became all, officers and soldiers, prisoners of war, which, as it was a new rung to the ladder which sir Thomas Fairfax ascended to the height of his honour, so it was the most sensible blow to the king he had yet sustained, and almost nipped all hopes of getting an army into the field to encounter the enemy, which sailed with a full gale.

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The king had no better success in another winter enterprise about the same time; and the experience the parliament had, to their cost, of carrying their army into the field too soon to the siege of Reading, the damage whereof they had scarce yet recovered, might have prepared their enemies to better husbandry of their men. It was thought counsellable, after all armies were retired into their winter quarters, to send a good party of horse and foot into Hampshire, to possess Winchester castle, and to fix another quarter in Sussex, to the end that the well affected there, and in Kent, might have a communication, and be ready in the spring to appear in a body on that side of London; for which the loyal party in Kent had some impatience, as having undergone great pressures and indignities from the parliament. This work was committed to the lord Hopton, who had a very great reputation in all places, and deserved it, being a man of great honour, integrity, and piety; of great courage and industry, and an excellent officer in an army for any command but the supreme, to which he was not equal. He had raised a good body of horse and foot about Bristol, and sir John Berkeley brought a good addition of foot to him from Exeter; with which, and those regiments which arrived there from Ireland about the beginning of December, he marched to Winchester; sir William Ogle having possessed himself of that castle for the king before he came thither. And to enable him to make a further progress to the end aforesaid, and upon intelligence that the parliament had sent out sir William Waller with a strong party of their army to stop lord Hopton's march into those counties, his majesty sent two regiments of horse of his own army, under the command of the lord John Steward, another brother of the duke of Richmond, and two or three regiments of foot; with which the lord Hopton had too much desire to engage with his old friend sir William Waller: and in order thereunto advanced to Farnham, where he was, and had some light skirmishes with his troops, and beat them into that castle, which was a strong place; and where sir William resolved to stay, till he could receive some supply of men, which he daily expected. Whereupon the lord Hopton entered into Sussex, and very prosperously possessed himself of Arun-

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coast) to transport those regiments of foot which[d] might be well spared during the cessation, and which could not be supported there, to Chester; from whence his majesty could easily draw them in the spring to Oxford; and were, in truth, the principal recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the field. The lord Byron then commanded Chester, and that county; and was appointed to take care for the reception and accommodation of those troops; which was a right good body of foot, and being excellent men, both officers and soldiers, carried great terror with them from the time of their

del castle, a place very strongly situated upon the sea, and in all respects so convenient to make a strong quarter, that a better could not be desired; where he left a good garrison under the command of sir Edward Ford, who was a gentleman of that county, and had a regiment of horse in the army. But when he returned from thence towards Winchester, where he meant to have sat quiet till the spring, he found sir William Waller ready to attend his motion; and so in a field near Alton both bodies met, and after a sharp engagement, and great loss on both sides, the lord Hopton was forced to retire in disorder to Winchester, and from thence he came to Oxford, whilst Waller marched to Arundel; and after seven or eight days, the new garrison being disunited amongst themselves, and having not supplied the place with provision for a long siege, which they might have done, compelled them to render to mercy: where, amongst the rest, poor Mr. Chillingworth was taken, and so barbarously used, that he died within few days; but his book will live, and declare him to be a man of rare and admirable parts to all posterity. Besides many other officers of good account who were lost in that battle of Alresford, the lord John Steward, though he was brought off, died of his wounds within three days, to the great grief of the king and all good men. He was the second brother of this noble family, who lost his life in this fatal war, and was a man of great courage; and with a different roughness in his nature from all the rest of the race, had proposed to himself the profession of a soldier, in which he could not but have made a glorious progress, if he had not been so untimely cut off.

There was another result of council at Oxford, *as in page* 430, *line* 18.

[d] which] as

landing; and quickly freed North Wales from the enemy; who at that time begun[e] to have great power there. It was towards the end of November when they landed, and being a people who had been used to little ease in Ireland, the king having given the lord Byron leave to employ them in such services as might secure that country, the season of the year made little impression on them; they were always ready, and desirous of[f] action; and in the space of a month reduced, by assault and storm, many places of notable importance, as Howarden-castle, Beeston-castle, Crew-house, and other places of strength;[g] and encountering the whole body of the rebels, at Middlewich in Cheshire, broke and defeated them with great slaughter; and drove all that survived, and were at liberty, into Nantwich; the single garrison they had then left in Cheshire: into[h] which the whole party was retired, and which had been fortified and garrisoned from the beginning of the troubles, as the only refuge for the disaffected in[i] that county, and the counties adjacent. The pride of the late success, and the terror the soldiers believed their names carried with them, carried them at this most unseasonable time of the year thither; for it was about the first week in January when the lord Byron came with his army before the town, and summoned it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unspeakable importance to the king's affairs, there being, between that and Carlisle, no one town of moment (Manchester only excepted) which declared

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[e] begun] began
[f] of] for
[g] strength;] great strength;
[h] into] and into
[i] in] of

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against the king; and those two populous counties of Chester and Lancashire,[k] if they had been united against the parliament, would have been a strong bulwark against the Scots.

These considerations, and an opinion that the town would yield as soon as summoned, brought the army first thither; and then a passionate desire[l] of honour, and[m] contempt of the enemy within, or[n] of any other who could undertake[o] their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and so they raised batteries, and undertook a formal siege against the town. The seventeenth day of January they made a general assault upon five several quarters of the town, somewhat before day-break, but were with equal courage opposed from within, and near three hundred men lost, or wounded[p] in the service; which should have prevailed with them to have quitted their design. But those repulses sharpen rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the assailants, no less than the besieged, desiring an army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience longed for the same thing; the Irish (for under that name, for distinction sake, we call that body of foot, though there was not an *Irishman* amongst them) supposing themselves superior to any that would encounter them in the field, and the horse being such as might as reasonably undervalue those who were to oppose them.

The Irish forces routed by

In this their[q] confidence, supply came too soon to the town, and confusion to the king's forces: for sir

[k] Lancashire,] Lancaster,
[l] desire] fancy
[m] and] *Not in MS.*
[n] or] and
[o] undertake] attempt
[p] or wounded] and spoiled
[q] their] *Not in MS.*

Thomas Fairfax, upon his victory at Selby, brought out of Yorkshire a good body of horse to Manchester; and, out of that place, and the neighbour places, drew near three thousand foot, with which joining with sir William Bruerton, and some other scattered forces from Staffordshire and Derby, who had been routed at Middlewich, he advanced near Nantwich, before he was looked for; the Irish being so overconfident that he would not presume to attack them, that, though they had advertisement of their[r] motion, they still believed that his utmost design was by alarms[s] to force them to rise from the town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their posts too long; and when they found it necessary to draw off, a little river, which divided their forces, on a sudden thaw, so much swelled above its banks, that the lord Byron, with the greatest part of the horse, and the foot which lay on one side of the town, were severed from the rest, and compelled to march four or five miles before he could join with the other; before which time the other part, being charged by sir Thomas Fairfax on the one side, and from the town on the other, were broken; and all the chief officers forced to retire to a church called Acton church, where they were caught as in a trap, and, the horse, by reason of the deep ways with the sudden thaw, and narrow lanes, and great hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themselves prisoners to those whom they so much despised two hours before. There were taken, besides all the chief and considerable officers of foot, near fifteen

BOOK VII. 1644. sir Thomas Fairfax at Nantwich.

[r] their] his [s] alarms] alarums

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hundred soldiers,[t] and all their cannon and carriages: the lord Byron with his horse, and the rest of his[u] foot, retiring to Chester. There cannot be given a better, or it may be another reason for this defeat, besides the providence of God, which was the effect of the other, than the extreme contempt and disdain this body had of the enemy; and the presumption in their own strength, courage, and conduct; which made them not enough think, and rely upon Him who alone disposes of the event of battles: though it must be acknowledged, most of the officers were persons of signal virtue and sobriety; and, in their own natures, of great modesty and piety; so hard it is to suppress those motions, which success, valour, and even the conscience of the cause, is apt to produce in men not overmuch inclined to presumption.[x]

There was another result of council at Oxford, in this winter season, which deserves to be mentioned; and the rather, because all the inducements thereunto were not generally understood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the Scots were visibly armed, and upon their march into England, which the king was the last man in believing; and when there was no way to stop or divert them, his majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some men of that nation, who had been long proposing a way to give them so

[t] soldiers,] common soldiers,

[u] his] the

[x] presumption.] *MS. adds:* To give fresh life to those counties, according to a resolution formerly taken, prince Rupert was sent general into those parts; the lord Byron being his lieutenant general; his highness having a desire to command a body apart from the king's army, upon some private differences and dislikes, which grew up in most places to the disturbance of the public affairs.

much trouble at home, that they should not be at leisure to infest or trouble their neighbours; to which propositions less care had been given, out of too much confidence in persons, upon whose integrity or interest there had been too great a dependence. The earl of Mountrose, a young man of a great spirit, and of the most ancient nobility, had been one of the most principal and active covenanters in the beginning of the troubles; but soon after, upon his observation of the unwarrantable prosecution of it, he gave over that party, and his command in that army; and at the king's being in Scotland, after the pacification, had made full tender of his service to his majesty; and was so much in the jealousy and detestation of the violent party, whereof the earl of Argyle was the head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the king. 1644.

The earl of Mountrose comes to the king, and informs him of the state of Scotland.

Upon the beginning of the parliament at Edinburgh, and the manifestation that duke Hamilton would give no opposition to the proceedings thereof, (as hath been mentioned before,) the earl[y] privately withdrew out of Scotland, and came to the king few days before the siege was raised from Gloucester, and gave his majesty the first clear information of the carriage and behaviour of duke Hamilton, and of the posture that kingdom would speedily be in, and of the resolutions that would be there taken; and made some smart propositions to the king for the remedy; which there was not then time to consult: but as soon as the king retired to Oxford, after the battle of Newbury, and had had[z] fuller intelligence, by the resort of others of that nobility who deserved

[y] the earl] he

[z] had] *Not in MS.*

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to be trusted, how the affairs stood in Scotland; and heard that duke Hamilton, and his brother, the earl of Lanrick, were upon their way as far as York towards Oxford; his majesty was very willing to hearken to the earl of Mountrose, and the rest, what could be done to prevent that mischief that was like to ensue. But they all unanimously declared, "that "they durst make no propositions for the advance- "ment of the king's service, except they might be "first assured, that no part of it should be commu- "nicated to duke Hamilton; nor he suffered to have "any part or share in any action that should depend "upon it; for they were [a] most assured that he had "always betrayed his majesty; and that it had been "absolutely in his power to have prevented this new "combination, if he would resolutely have opposed "it. But if they might be secure in that particular, "they would make some such [b] attempt under his "majesty's commission in their own country, as "might possibly make some disturbance there." His majesty thought he had much less reason to be confident of the duke than formerly; for he had expressly failed of doing somewhat which he had promised to do; yet he thought he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of trust from him, except he did, at the same time, secure him from being able to do him farther mischief; towards which kind of severity, he did not think he had evidence enough. Besides he had a very good opinion of the earl of Lanrick, as a man of much more plainness and sincerity than his brother; as in truth he was. That he might bring himself to a full resolution in this

[a] they were] that they were

[b] such] *Not in MS.*

important affair, his majesty appointed the lord keeper, his two secretaries, the master of the rolls, and the chancellor of the exchequer, to examine the earl of Mountrose, the earl of Kinnoul, the lord Ogilby, and some others, upon oath, of all things they could accuse duke Hamilton, or his brother Lanrick of; and to take their examinations in writing; that so his majesty might discover, whether their errors proceeded from infidelity, and consider the better, what course to observe in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much secresy, as an affair of that nature could be, wherein so many were trusted. 1644.

Upon their examination, there appeared too much cause to conclude, that the duke had not behaved himself with that loyalty as he ought to have done. The earl of Mountrose, whilst he had been of that party, had been privy to much of his correspondence and intelligence. But most of the particulars related to the time when he commanded the fleet in the Frith, and when he had many conferences with his mother, (who was a woman most passionate in those contrivances,) and with others of that party; and when he did nothing to hurt or incommodate the enemy; all which was expressly pardoned by the act of oblivion, which had been passed with all formality and solemnity by the king in the parliament of both kingdoms: and, so much as to question what was so forgot, might raise a greater fire, than that which they desired to quench; though the knowing so many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late transactions of Scotland, it was manifest that the duke had absolutely opposed all

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overtures of force, and of[c] seizing those persons who could only be able to raise new troubles; which had been very easy to have done; and that he had betrayed the king, and all the lords, in consenting to the meeting of the parliament, called and summoned against the king's express pleasure and command, and without any pretence of law. And to this, the king's approbation and consent had been shewed to them, by the duke, under the king's own hand; which they durst not disobey, though they foresaw the[d] mischief.

The case was thus;[e] the duke had given the king an account, after he had himself promised him[f] that the parliament should never be assembled, (which his majesty abhorred,) "that though some few hot "and passionate men desired to put themselves in "arms, to stop both elections of the members, and "any meeting together in parliament; yet, that all "sober men who could bear any considerable part in "the action, were clearly of the opinion, to take as "much pains as they could to cause good elections "to be made, and then to appear themselves; and "that they had hope to have such a major part, that "they might more advantageously dissolve the meet-"ing as soon as they came together, than prevent it; "however, that then would be the fit time to protest "against it, and immediately to put themselves into "arms, for which they would be well provided at "the same time;" and to this[g] he desired the king's positive direction. And his majesty, in answer to it,

[c] of] for
[d] the] this
[e] thus;] this;
[f] him] the king
[g] to this] to this state

had said, "since it was the opinion of all his friends, "he would not command them to do that which was "against their judgment; but would attend the suc- "cess; and was content that they should all appear "in the parliament at its first meeting:" and the duke had shewed the lords those words in the king's letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one person who was of that opinion, or had given that counsel, but had still detested the expedient when proposed. BOOK VII. 1644.

Then the duke's carriage in the parliament, and his brother's, at their first coming together, appeared to be as is set down before, by the testimony of those who were present; and the earl of Lanrick's applying the signet to the proclamation for that rendezvous where the army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse; and so the clear state of the evidence, upon the depositions of the persons examined, was presented to the king for his own determination. His majesty had some thoughts of sending to the marquis of Newcastle to stop the duke and his brother at York, and not suffer them to come nearer; but whilst that was in deliberation, they both came to Oxford, and meant the same night to have kissed their majesties' hands; but as soon as they arrived, they received a command from the king, "to keep their chambers;" and had a guard attended them. The king resolved to consult the whole affair then with the council-board, whereas hitherto the examinations had been taken by a committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that purpose[h] directed that a

[h] purpose] end

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transcript might be prepared, of all the examinations at large; and that the witnesses might be ready to appear before the board, if it should be thought necessary; his majesty at that time inclining to have both the lords present, and the depositions read, and the witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the second morning after their coming to the town, the earl of Lanrick, either having corrupted or deluded the guard, found a means to escape; and by the assistance of one Cunningham (a gentleman of the privy-chamber, and of that nation) had horses ready; with which the earl and his friend fled, and went directly to London; where he was very well received. Hereupon the king informed the board of the whole affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted in Scotland, and so, in many respects, it was not a season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing farther mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint: and so he was sent in custody to the castle at Bristol, and from thence to Exeter, and so to the castle at Pendennis in Cornwall; where we shall at the present[i] leave him.

Duke Hamilton made prisoner at Oxford.

Mr. Pym's death.

About this time the councils at Westminster lost a principal supporter, by the death of Jo. Pym; who died with great torment and agony of a disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *morbus pediculosus*, as was reported; which rendered him an object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No man had more to answer for the miseries of the kingdom, or had his hand, or

[i] at the present] *Not in MS.*

head, deeper in their contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his life, than he designed. He was a man of a private quality and condition of life; his education in the office of the exchequer, where he had been a clerk; and his parts rather acquired by industry, than supplied by nature, or adorned by art. He had been well known in former parliaments; and was one of those few, who had sat in many; the long intermission of parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the rules and orders observed in those conventions. This [k] gave him some reputation and reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

He had been most taken notice of, for being concerned and passionate in the jealousies of religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those opinions that had been imputed to Arminius; and this gave him great authority and interest with those who were not pleased with the government of the church, or the growing power of the clergy: yet himself industriously took care to be believed, and he professed to be very entire to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England. In the short parliament before this, he spoke much, and appeared to be the most leading man; for besides the exact knowledge of the former, [l] and orders of that council, which few men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper; and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man; and had observed the errors

[k] This] And this

[l] former,] forms,

BOOK VII. 1644.

and mistakes in government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy dissolution of that parliament, he continued for the most part about London, in conversation and great repute amongst those lords who were most strangers to the court, and were believed most averse to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies and discontents towards the state; and as soon as this parliament was resolved to be summoned, he was as diligent to procure such persons to be elected as he knew to be most inclined to the way he meant to take.

At the first opening of this parliament, he appeared passionate and prepared against the earl of Strafford; and though in private designing he was much governed by Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Saint-John, yet he seemed to all men to have the greatest influence upon the house of commons of any man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and some[m] months after, the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first design of softening and obliging the powerful persons in both houses, when it was resolved to make the earl of Bedford lord high treasurer of England, the king likewise intended to make Mr. Pym chancellor of the exchequer; for which he received his majesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable profession of his service and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no secret, somewhat declined from that sharpness in the house, which was more popular than any man's, and made some overtures to provide for the glory and splendour of the

[m] some] for some

crown; in which he had so ill success, that his interest and reputation there visibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do hurt than good; which wrought very much upon him to melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the people's affections and inclinations. In the end, whether upon the death of the earl of Bedford he despaired of that preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing, which, upon his conversion to the court, he thought might be discovered to his damage, or for pure want of courage, he suffered himself to be carried by those who would not follow him, and so continued in the head of those who made the most desperate propositions.

In the prosecution of the earl of Strafford, his carriage and language was such as[n] expressed much personal animosity; and he was accused of having practised some arts in it not worthy a good man; as an Irishman of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an evidence of one part of the charge against the lord lieutenant, in a particular of which a person of so vile quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer; Mr. Pym gave him money to buy him a sattin suit and cloak; in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence; which, if true, may make many other things, which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believed; as that he received a great sum of money from the French ambassador, (which hath been before mentioned,)[o] to hinder the transportation of

[n] as] that

[o] (which hath been before mentioned,)] *Not in MS.*

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those regiments of Ireland into Flanders, upon the disbanding that army there; which had been prepared by the earl of Strafford for the business of Scotland; in which if his majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted and contradicted by the houses, many do believe the rebellion in Ireland had not happened.

Certain it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good offices for particular persons; and that he did preserve many from censure, who were under the severe displeasure of the houses, and looked upon as eminent delinquents; and the quality of many of them made it believed, that he had sold that protection for valuable considerations. From the time of his being accused of high treason by the king, with the lord Kimbolton, and the other members, he never entertained thoughts of moderation, but always opposed all overtures of peace and accommodation, and when the earl of Essex was disposed, the last summer, by those lords to an inclination towards a treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. Pym's power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards swerved not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the Scots coming in to their assistance; though his indisposition of body was so great, that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness, he was a very sad spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurred with him, it is not known what his last thoughts and considerations were. He died towards the end of December, before the Scots entered; and was buried with wonderful

pomp and magnificence, in that place where the bones of our English kings and princes are committed to their rest.

The arrival of the prince elector at London was no less the discourse of all tongues, than the death of Mr. Pym. He had been in England before the troubles, and was[p] received and cherished by the king with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and supplied with a pension of twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly. When the king left London, he attended his majesty to York, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high, that his majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an army for his defence. Then, on the sudden, without giving the king many days' notice of his resolution, that prince[q] left the court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary vessel, embarked himself for Holland, to the wonder of all men; who thought it an unseasonable declaration of his fear at least of the parliament, and his desire of being well esteemed by them, when it was evident they esteemed not the king as they should. And this was the more spoken of, when it was afterwards known that the parliament expressed a good sense of his having deserted the king, and imputed it to his conscience, "that he "knew of some such designs of his majesty, as he "could not comply with." At this time, after many loud discourses of his coming, (which were derived to Oxford, as somewhat that might have an influence upon his majesty's counsels, there being then several whispers of some high proceedings they intended against the king,) he arrived at London, and was re-

The prince elector arrives at London.

[p] was] *Not in MS.*

[q] prince] prince elector

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ceived with ceremony; lodged in Whitehall, and order taken for the payment of that pension which had been formerly assigned to him by his majesty; and a particular direction by both houses, "that he "should be admitted to sit in the assembly of di- "vines;" where, after he had taken the covenant, he was contented to be often present: of all which the king took no other notice, than sometimes to express, "that he was sorry on his nephew's behalf, that he "thought fit to declare such a compliance."

The defeat of colonel John Bellasis at Selby by sir Thomas Fairfax, and the destruction of all the Irish regiments under the lord Byron, together with the terror of the Scottish[r] army, had so let loose all the king's enemies in the northern parts, which were lately at the king's devotion, that his friends were in great distress in all places before the season was ripe to take the field. The earl of Derby, who had kept Lancashire in reasonable subjection, and enclosed all the enemies of that county within the town of Manchester, was no longer able to continue that restraint, but forced to place himself at a farther[s] distance from them; which was like, in a short time, to increase the number of the rebels there. Newark, a very necessary garrison in the county of Nottingham, which[t] had not only subjected that little county, the town of Nottingham only excepted, which was upon the matter confined within its own walls, but had[u] kept a great part of the large county of Lincoln under contribution, was now reduced to so great straits by the forces of that country, under the command of Meldrum a Scotchman,

[r] Scottish] Scots
[s] farther] greater
[t] which] *Not in MS.*
[u] had] *Not in MS.*

with addition of others from Hull, that they were compelled to beg relief from the king at Oxford; whilst the marquis of Newcastle had enough to do to keep the Scots at a bay, and to put York in a condition to endure a siege, if he should be forced to continue within those walls. 1644.

In these straits, though it was yet the depth of winter, and to provide the better for the security of Shrewsbury, and Chester, and North Wales, all which were terrified with the defeat of the lord Byron, the king found it necessary to send prince Rupert, with a good body of chosen horse, and dragoons, and some foot, with direction, after he had visited Shrewsbury and Chester, and used all possible endeavours to make new levies, that he should attempt the relief of Newark: which, being lost, would cut off all possible communication between Oxford and York[x]. In Newark,[y] the garrison consisted

Prince Rupert is sent to relieve Newark, and effects it.

[x] Oxford and York.] *Thus continued in MS. B.:* And the prince had so good success in that attempt, and marched with so great secresy from Shrewsbury, that he was even upon the trenches of the enemy before they had notice of his approach; which put them into so great confusion; and his horse charged them in that confusion before his foot were within some miles of the place; which was an action that might very reasonably have disappointed and broken the whole design: but the consternation was so great, which was increased by some disunion amongst the officers of the other side, that though they remained still in possession of some strong redoubts, from whence they could not have been beaten off, and from whence they could still continue the siege, they treated and agreed to rise, and depart before the prince's body was in view, that, when it appeared, did not make half the number of the enemy: so great success doth often attend bold and resolute attempts, though without reason or advice, which would never have approved this enterprise.

[y] In Newark,] *Thus originally in MS.:* The year (*namely* 1643–4) ended with an action very prosperous to the king. It is remembered, that upon the marquis of Newcastle's advancing towards the Scots, and the success of sir Thomas Fairfax before Nantwich, the enemy in-

BOOK VII. 1644.

most of the gentry of the county, and the inhabitants, ill supplied with any thing requisite to a siege, but courage and excellent affections. The enemy intrenched themselves before the town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturbed: and indeed it was not easy for the king to find a way for their relief. To send a body from Oxford was very hazardous, and the enemy so strong, as they would quickly follow; so that there was no hope but from Shrewsbury and Chester, where prince Rupert had given so much life to those parts, and drawn so considerable [z] a body together, that the enemy found little advantage by their late victory, in the enlargement of their quarters. His highness then resolved [a] to try what he could do for Newark, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby performed it. For the enemy, who had always excellent intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength sufficient to attempt that work, that he was within six miles of them, before they believed he thought of them; and charging and routing some of their horse, pursued them with that expedition, that he besieged them in their own intrenchment, with his horse, before his foot came within four miles. In [b] that consternation, they concluding that he must have a vast power and strength, to bring them into those straits, he, with a number inferior to the enemy, and utterly unaccommodated

creased very much their strength in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and those counties, insomuch as sir Jo. Meldrum, with a good body of horse and foot out of Lincolnshire, and the associated counties, sat down before Newark, where the garrison, &c.

[z] considerable] handsome

[a] His highness then resolved] So that his highness resolved

[b] In] And in

for an action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their arms, or any carriage or baggage. Thus[c] he relieved Newark, and took above four thousand arms, eleven pieces of brass cannon, two mortar pieces, and above fifty barrels of powder; which was as unexpected a victory,[d] as any happened throughout the war: with[e] this prosperous action, which was performed on the 22d of March, we shall conclude the transactions of this year.

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[c] Thus] And so
[d] which was as unexpected a victory,] which was a victory as prodigious,
[e] with] and with

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VIII.

[a] 2 Esd. v. 9.

And salt waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall wit hide itself, and understanding withdraw itself into his secret chamber.

Isaiah iii. 5.

And the people shall be oppressed, every one by another, and every one by his neighbour: the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable. [a]

As the winter[b] had been very unprosperous and unsuccessful to the king, in the diminution and loss of those forces, upon which he chiefly depended to sustain the power of the enemy the year ensuing; so the spring entered with no better presage. When both armies had entered into their winter quarters, to refresh themselves after so much fatigue[b], the

[a] 2 Esd. v. 9.—*honourable.*] *Not in MS.*

[b] As the winter—fatigue,] *Originally thus in MS.*; These

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great preparation that was made at London, and the fame of sending sir William Waller into the west, put the king upon the resolution of having such a body in his way, as might give him interruption, without prince Maurice's being disturbed in his siege of Plymouth; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the lord Hopton was appointed to command an army apart, to be levied out of the garrison of Bristol, and those western counties adjacent newly reduced; where[c] his reputation and interest was very great; and by it[d] he had in a short time raised a pretty body of foot and horse; to which[e] receiving an addition of two very good regiments (though not many in number) out of Munster, under the command of sir Charles Vavasour, and sir John Pawlet, and a good troop of horse under the command of captain Bridges, all which had been transported, according to former orders, out of Ireland to Bristol, since the cessation, that lord[f] advanced to Salisbury, and shortly after to Winchester; whither sir John Berkley brought him two regiments more of foot, raised by him in Devonshire; so that he had in all, at least, three thousand foot, and about fifteen hundred horse; which, in so good a post as Winchester was, would in a short time

were the civil preparations and conclusions on both sides. In the mean time both the king's army and the earl of Essex were contented to refresh themselves in their winter quarters without any notable engagement, both preparing the best they could for the spring, and to be early ready for the field; yet the winter passed not without action; the great preparation &c.

[c] where] and where
[d] and by it] by which
[e] to which] the which
[f] that lord] the lord Hopton

have grown to a considerable army;[g] and was at present strong enough to have stopped, or attended Waller in his western expedition; nor did he expect to have found such an obstruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his march, and was informed of the lord Hopton's being at Winchester with such a strength, he retired to Farnham; and quartered there, till he gave his masters an account that he wanted other supplies.

It was a general misfortune, and miscomputation of that time, that the party, in all places, that[h] wished well to the king, (which consisted of most of the gentry in most counties; and for the present were awed and kept under by the militia, and the committees[i] of parliament,) had so good an opinion of their own reputation and interest, that they believed they were able, upon the assistance of few troops, to suppress their neighbours who were of the other party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were possessed of, exercised their authority over them with great rigour and insolence. And so the lord Hopton was no sooner possessed of Winchester, where sir William Ogle had likewise seized upon the castle for the king, and put it into a tenable condition, than the gentlemen of Sussex, and of the adjacent parts of Hampshire, sent privately to him, "that if he would advance "into their country, they would undertake, in a "short time, to make great levies of men for the "recruit of his army; and likewise to possess themselves of such places as they should[k] be well able

[g] considerable army;] pretty army;

[h] that] which

[i] and the committees] and other committees

[k] should] would

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"to defend; and thereby keep that part of the "country in the king's obedience."

Sir Edward Ford, a gentleman of a good family, and fair fortune in Sussex, had then a regiment of horse in the lord Hopton's troops, and the king had made him high sheriff of Sussex that year, to the end that, if there were occasion, he might the better make impression upon that county. He had with him, in his regiment, many of the gentlemen of that county[l] of good quality: and they all besought the lord Hopton, "that he would, since Waller was not "like to advance, at least send some troops into "those parts, to give a little countenance to the "levies they should be well able to make;" assuring him, "that they would, in the first place, seize "upon Arundel castle; which, standing near[m] the "sea, would yield great advantage to the king's ser-"vice, and keep that rich corner of the country at "his majesty's devotion." These, and many other specious undertakings, disposed the lord Hopton, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage Waller in a battle, upon old accounts, to wish himself at liberty to comply with those gentlemen's desires: of all which, he gave such an account to the king, as made it appear, that he liked the design, and thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a regiment or two of foot, under good officers; for that quarter of Sussex, which he meant to visit, was a fast and enclosed country, and Arundel castle had a garrison in it, though not numerous, or well provided, as being without apprehension of an enemy.

It was about Christmas, and the king had no far-

[l] county] country [m] near] upon

ther design for the winter, than to keep Waller from visiting and disturbing the west, and to recruit his army to such a degree as to be able to take the field early; which he knew the rebels resolved to do: yet the good post the lord Hopton was already possessed of at Winchester, and these positive undertakings from Sussex, wrought upon many to think, that this opportunity should not be lost. The king had likewise[n] great assurance of the general good affections of the county of Kent; insomuch as the people had with difficulty been restrained from making some attempt, upon the confidence of their own strength; and if there could be now such a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and Sussex, it might produce an association little inferior to that of the southern counties under the earl of Manchester; and might, by the spring, be an occasion[o] of that distraction to the parliament, that they should[p] not well know to what part to dispose their armies; and the king might apply his own to that part and purpose, as should seem most reasonable to him.

These and other reasons prevailing, the king[q] gave the lord Hopton order to prosecute his design upon Sussex, in such manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well assured, that Waller should not make advantage, upon that enterprise, to find the way open to him to march into the west. And that he might be the better able to prosecute the one, and to provide for the other, sir Jacob Astley was likewise sent to him from Reading, with a

[n] likewise] *Not in MS.*
[o] an occasion] argument
[p] should] might
[q] prevailing, the king] prevailed, and the king

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thousand commanded men of that garrison, Wallingford, and Oxford; which supply no sooner arrived at Winchester, but the lord Hopton resolved to visit Waller's quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the west. Waller was then quartered at Farnham, and the villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his men, and faced the enemy, as if he intended to fight, but, after some light skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always received loss, he retired himself into the castle of Farnham, a place of some[r] strength; and drew his army into the town; and, within three or four days, went himself to London, more effectually to solicit recruits, than his letters had been able to do.

When the lord Hopton saw that he could attempt no farther upon those[s] troops, and was fully assured that sir William Waller was himself gone to London, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the gentlemen of Sussex; and marched thither, with such a body of horse and foot, as he thought competent for the service. The[t] exceeding hard frost made his march more easy through those deep dirty ways, than better weather would have done; and he came to Arundel before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place in its situation was strong;[u] and though the fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the walls were good,[x] and the graff broad, and deep;

[r] some] great
[s] those] the
[t] The] And the
[u] strong;] very strong;
[x] were good,] were very strong,

and though the garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied any sudden assault;[y] and might, without putting themselves to much[z] trouble, have been very secure against the attempts of those without. But the provisions of victual, or ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long siege;[a] and the officer who commanded had not been accustomed to the prospect of an enemy. So[b] upon an easy and short summons, that threatened his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement, if he should defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own fear, and want of courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the soldiers, the castle was surrendered the third day; and appeared to be a place worth[c] the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good army.

Arundel castle surrendered to the lord Hopton:

The lord Hopton, after he had stayed there five or six days, and caused provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the command and government thereof to sir Edward Ford, high sheriff of the county, with a garrison of above two hundred men; besides many good officers; who desired, or were very willing, to stay there[d]; as a place very favourable for the making levies of men, which they all intended. And, it may be, the more remained there, out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the winter with better accommodation.

[y] any sudden assault;] all assaults;
[z] much] any
[a] siege;] restraint;
[b] So] And so
[c] worth] more worth
[d] there] *Not in MS.*

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The news of sir William Waller's return to Farnham with strong recruits of horse and foot, made it necessary to the lord Hopton to leave Arundel castle before he had put it into the good posture he intended. And, without well considering the mixture of the men he left there, whereof many were of natures not easy to be governed, [e] nor [f] like to conform themselves to such [g] strict rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made necessary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoined to them was, "in the first place, setting all other "things aside, to draw in store of provisions of all "kinds, both for the numbers they were already, "and for such as would probably in a short time be "added to them;" all which, from the great plenty that country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would have remained long such a thorn in the side of the parliament, as would have rendered it very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their prosperity.

Waller's journey to London answered his expectation; and his presence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing desired. He reported the lord Hopton's forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progress that lord [h] had made in Sussex, and his taking Arundel castle, made them thought to be greater than he reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a

[e] natures not easy to be governed,] insolent and pragmatical natures,

[f] nor] not

[g] such] those

[h] that lord] he

place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a county where the king had before no footing, awakened all their jealousies and apprehensions of the affections of Kent, and all other places; and looked like a land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate solicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they had used for recruiting their armies by levies of volunteers, and persuading the apprentices of the city to become soldiers, upon the privilege they gave them for their freedom, for the time they fought for them, as if they had remained in their master's service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this torrent; they therefore resort to their inexhaustible magazine of men, their devoted city, to whose affections the person of sir William Waller was most acceptable; and persuaded them immediately to cause two of their strongest regiments of auxiliaries, to march out of the line to Farnham; which they consented to. Then [i] they appointed the earl of Essex to give his orders to sir William Balfour, with one thousand of the horse of his army, likewise to observe Waller's commands; who, with this great addition of forces, made haste to his other troops at Farnham; where he scarce rested, but after he had informed himself how the lord Hopton's troops [k] lay quartered, at [l] too great a distance from each other, he marched, according to his custom in those occasions, (as beating up of quarters was his masterpiece,) all the night; and, by the break of day, encompassed a great village called Alton, where a

[i] Then] And then

[k] troops] army

[l] at] which was at

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troop or two of horse, and a regiment of foot of the king's lay in too much security. However, the horse took the alarm quickly, and for the most part made their escape to Winchester, the head quarter; whither the lord Hopton was returned but the night before from Arundel. Colonel Boles, who commanded his own regiment of foot there, consisting of about five hundred men, which had been drawn out of the garrison of Wallingford, when he found himself encompassed by the enemy's army of horse and foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other resistance than by retiring with his men into the church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours, that relief might be sent to him; but he had not time to barricado the doors; so that the enemy entered almost as soon; and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the soldiers, overpowered, threw down their arms, and asked quarter; which was likewise offered to the colonel; who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till, with the death of two or three of the assailants, he was killed in the place; his enemies giving him a testimony of great courage and resolution.

Waller knew well the impression the loss of this very good regiment would make upon the lord Hopton's forces, and that the report which the troops of horse which had escaped would make, would add nothing of courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make haste to advance; and therefore, with great[m] celerity, the hard frost continuing, he marched with all his army to Arundel castle, where he found that garrison as

[m] great] wonderful

unprovided as he could wish. For,[n] instead of increasing the magazine of victual by supplies from the country, they had spent much of that store which the lord Hopton had provided. The governor was a man of honesty and courage, but unacquainted with that affair, having no other experience in war, than what he had learned since these troubles. The officers were many without command, amongst whom one colonel Bamford, an Irishman, though he called himself Bamfield, was one; who, being a man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the faction, to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himself governor. In this distraction Waller found them, and by some of the soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; by which he so increased their faction[o] and animosity against one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual alarms, three or four days, near half the men being sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer, they gave the place and themselves up as prisoners of war upon quarter; the place being able to have defended itself against all that power, for a much longer time. Here the learned and eminent Mr. Chillingworth was taken prisoner; who, out of kindness and respect to the lord Hopton, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the season, chose to repose himself in that garrison, till the weather should mend. As soon as his person was known, which would have drawn reverence from any noble enemy, the clergy that attended that army prose-

1644.

It is retaken by sir William Waller.

[n] For,] And,

[o] by which he so increased their faction] and so increased their faction

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cuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; so that, by their barbarous usage, he died within few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his book, and the reputation he had with learned men.

The lord Hopton sustained the loss of that [p] regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a battle with Waller, to make even all accounts; and made what haste he could, upon the first advertisement, to have redeemed that misfortune; and hoped to have come time enough to relieve [q] Arundel castle; which he never suspected would so tamely have given themselves up: but that hope quickly vanished, upon the undoubted intelligence of that surrender, and the news that Waller was returned with a full resolution to prosecute his design upon the west: to which, besides the encouragement of his two late successes, [r] with which he was marvellously elated, he was in some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the horse, which belonged to the earl of Essex's army, might be speedily recalled; and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promised the auxiliary regiments of London to dismiss them. [s]

Upon the news the king received of the great supply the parliament had so suddenly sent to Waller, both from the earl of Essex's army, and from the city, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of foot as he could draw out of Oxford, and the neighbour garrisons. And the earl of Brentford,

[p] that] this
[q] to relieve] to have relieved
[r] successes,] victories,
[s] to dismiss them.] that he would dismiss them.

general of the army, who had a fast friendship with the lord Hopton, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit, rather than to sit still in his winter quarters, his majesty was very willing he should,[t] and cherished that disposition, being[u] desirous that so great an officer might be present in an army, upon which so much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with officers of great experience. So[x] the general, with such volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to Winchester; where he found the lord Hopton in trouble[y] for the loss of the regiment of foot at Alton, and with[z] the unexpected assurance of the giving up of Arundel castle. He was exceedingly revived with the presence of the general, and desired to receive his orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute command of the troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offered to keep him company in all expeditions, and to give him the best assistance he was able; which the lord Hopton was compelled to be contented with: nor could there be a greater union and consent between two friends; the general being ready to give his advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving orders accordingly.

As soon as they were informed that Waller had drawn all his troops together about Farnham, and meant to march towards them, they cheerfully embraced the occasion, and went to meet him; and

[t] was very willing he should,] very glad,
[u] being] and was
[x] So] And so
[y] trouble] agony
[z] and with] and confounded with

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about Alresford, near the midway between Winchester and Farnham; they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in view, chose the ground upon which they meant the battle should be fought; of which Waller, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his horse. The king's army consisted of about five thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and Waller, with sir William Balfour, exceeded in horse; but they were upon the matter equal in foot; with this only advantage, that both his horse and foot were, as they were always, much better armed; no man wanting any weapon, offensive or defensive, that was proper for him; and sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of cuirassiers, called the *lobsters*, was so formidable, that the king's naked and unarmed troops, among which few were better armed than with swords, could not bear their impression.

The battle at Alresford, where sir William Waller had the advantage over the lord Hopton, (March 29.)

The king's horse never behaved themselves so ill as that day. For the main body of them, after they had sustained one fierce charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance, and left their principal officers to shift for themselves. The foot behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other foot, but bore two or three charges from the horse with notable courage, and without being broken: whilst those horse, which stood upon the field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither party was sorry, the lord Hopton thought it necessary to leave the field; and drawing off his men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his cannon and ammunition, whereof he lost none, that

night to Reading: the enemy being so scattered, that they had no mind to pursue; only Waller himself made haste to Winchester, where he thought, upon this success, to have been immediately admitted into that castle; which was his own inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and so returned with taking revenge upon the city, by plundering it with all the insolence and rapine imaginable. 1644.

There could not then be any other estimate made of the loss Waller sustained, than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the auxiliary regiments of London and Kent to march farther; who[a] within three or four days left him,[b] and returned to their habitations, with great lamentation of their friends who were missing. On the king's side, besides common men, and many good officers, there fell that day the lord John Stewart, brother to the duke of Richmond, and general of the horse of that army; and sir John Smith, brother to the lord Carrington, and commissary general of the horse. They were both brought off the field by the few horse that stayed with them, and did their duty; carried[c] to Reading; and the next day to Abingdon, that they might be nearer to the assistance of the best remedies by physicians and surgeons. But they lived only to the second dressing of their wounds, which were very many upon both[d] of them.

The former was a young man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of age; who, being of a more choleric and rough nature than

[a] who] and
[b] left him,] they left him,
[c] carried] and carried
[d] both] either.

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the other branches of that illustrious and princely family, was not delighted with the softnesses of the court, but had dedicated himself to the profession of arms, when he did not think the scene should have been in his own country. His courage was so signal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had outlived it; and he was so generally beloved, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, sir John Smith, had been trained up from his youth in the war of Flanders; being of an ancient Roman[e] catholic family; and had long the reputation of one of the best officers of horse. As soon as the first troubles appeared in Scotland, he betook himself to the service of his own prince; and, from the beginning of the war to his own end, performed many signal actions of courage. The[f] death of these two eminent officers made the names of many who perished that day the less inquired into and mentioned.

This battle was fought the 29th day of March; which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the measures, and altered the whole scheme, of the king's counsels: for whereas before, he hoped to have entered the field early, and to have acted an offensive part; he now discerned he was wholly to be upon the defensive;[g] and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only deprived of the men he had lost at Alresford, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his army by a conjunction with prince Rupert; who, he believed, would have returned in time, after his

[e] Roman] *Not in MS.*
[f] The] And the
[g] defensive;] defensive part;

great success at Newark, with a strong body both of horse and foot, from Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales: all which hopes were soon blasted; for the prince had scarce put the garrison of Newark in order, and provided it to endure another attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his highness's departure, (though indeed the shame of the defeat he had given that party [h], and the rage among the officers and soldiers, when they saw by what a handful of men they had been terrified and subdued, broke and dissolved that whole body within few days,) when he was earnestly pressed [i] from the earl of Derby to come into Lancashire to relieve him, who was already besieged in his own strong house at Latham by a great [k] body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the earl made ample promises, "that within so many days "after the siege should be raised, with any defeat to "the enemy, he would advance his highness's levies "with two thousand men, and supply him with a "considerable sum of money." And the earl had likewise, by an express, made the same instance to the king at Oxford; from whence his majesty sent his permission and approbation to the prince, before his departure from Newark; hoping still that his highness would be able to despatch that service in Lancashire, and with the more notable recruits of men in those parts, be able to return to Oxford by the time that it would be necessary for his majesty to take the field. But within a short time he was

1644.

[h] he had given that party] *Not in MS.*

[i] when he was earnestly pressed] when he received great instance

[k] great] strong

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disappointed of that expectation; for before the prince could finish his expedition into Lancashire, (which he did with wonderful gallantry; raised the siege at Latham with a great execution upon the enemy; and took two or three of their garrisons obstinately defended, and therefore with the greater slaughter,) the marquis of Newcastle was compelled to retire, with his whole army, within the walls of York. He had been well able to have defended himself against the numerous army of the Scots, and would have been glad to have been engaged with them; but he found he had a worse enemy to deal with, as will appear[l].

The association of several counties formed under the earl of Manchester.

From the time that the ruling party of the parliament discerned that their general, the earl of Essex, would never serve their turn, or comply with all their desires, they resolved to have another army apart, that should be more at their devotion; in [m] the forming whereof, they would be sure to choose such officers, as would probably not only observe their orders, but have the same inclinations with them. Their pretence was, "that there were so "many disaffected persons of the nobility, and prin- "cipal gentry, in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, "that, if great care was not taken to prevent it, "there might a body start up there for the king; "which, upon the success of the marquis of New- "castle, whose arms then reached into Lincolnshire, "might grow very formidable." For prevention whereof, they had formed an association between Essex, (a county, upon the influence of the earl of Warwick, and the power of his clergy, they most

[l] as will appear] *Not in MS.*

[m] in] and in

confided in,) Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Bedford, and Huntington; in all which they had many persons of whose entire affections they were well assured; and, in most of them, there were few considerable persons who wished them ill. Of this association they had made the earl of Manchester general, to be subject only to their own commands, and independent upon the earl of Essex. Under[n] him, they chose Oliver Cromwell to command their horse; and many other officers, who never intended to be subject again to the king, and avowed other principles in conscience and religion, than had been before publicly declared.

To this[o] general they gave order "to reside within "that association; and to make levies of men, suffi-"cient to keep those counties in obedience:" for at first they pretended no more. But, in the secret treaty made by sir Harry Vane with the Scots, they were bound, as soon as the Scots should enter into Yorkshire with their army, that a body of English horse, foot, and cannon, should be ready to assist them, commanded by their own officers, as a body apart: the Scots not then trusting their own great numbers, as equal to fight with the English. And from that time they were much more careful to raise, and liberally supply, and provide for that army under the earl of Manchester, than for the other under the earl of Essex. And now, according to their agreement, upon the Scots first entrance into Yorkshire, the earl of Manchester had likewise order to march with his whole body thither; having, for the most part, a committee of the parliament, whereof

The earl of Manchester is ordered with his army to march into the north to join the Scots.

[n] Under] And under

[o] To this] And to this

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sir Harry Vane was one, with him; as there was another committee of the Scottish parliament always in that army; there being also now a committee of both kingdoms residing at London, for the carrying on the war.

The marquis of Newcastle, being thus pressed on both sides, was necessitated to draw all his army of foot and cannon into York, with some troops of horse; and sent the body of his horse, under the command of general Goring, to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infest the enemy. Then he sent[p] an express to the king, to inform him of the condition he was in; and to let him know, "that he doubted not "to defend himself in that post for the term of six "weeks, or two months; in which time he hoped "his majesty would find some way to relieve him." Upon[q] receipt of this letter, the king sent orders to prince Rupert, that "as soon as he had relieved the "Lord Derby, and recruited, and refreshed his men,[r] "he should march, with what expedition he could, "to relieve York; where being joined with the mar-"quis of Newcastle's army, there was hope they "might fight the enemy: and his majesty would "put himself into as good a posture as he could to "take the field, without expecting the prince."

The queen retires from Oxford to Exeter.

All these ill accidents falling out successively in the winter, the king's condition appeared very sad; and the queen being[s] now with child, it[t] wrought upon her majesty's mind very much; and disposed

[p] Then he sent] And then sent

[q] Upon] And upon

[r] men,] army,

[s] and the queen being] and which was in the more disorder by the queen's being

[t] it] which

her to so many fears and apprehensions of her safety, that she was very uneasy to herself. She heard every day "of the great forces raised, and in a[u] rea- "diness, by the parliament, much greater than they "yet ever had been[x];" which was very true; and "that they resolved, as soon as the season was ripe,[y] "to march all to Oxford." She could not endure to think of being besieged[z]; and, in conclusion, resolved not to stay there, but to go into the west; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to embark for France. Though there seemed reasons enough to dissuade her from that inclination, and his majesty heartily wished that she could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improved by her indisposition of health, that all civility and reason obliged every body to submit. So, about the beginning of April, she begun her journey from Oxford to the west; and, by moderate journeys, came well to Exeter; where she intended to stay till she was delivered;[a] for she was within little more than one month of her time; and, being in a place out of the reach of any alarm, she recovered her spirits to a reasonable convalescence.

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It was now about the middle of April,[b] when it concerned the king with all possible sagacity, to foresee what probably the parliament meant to attempt with those vast numbers of men which they every

[u] a] *Not in MS.*
[x] been] *Not in MS.*
[y] ripe,] *MS. adds:* which was at hand,
[z] besieged] besieged there
[a] delivered;] disburdened;
[b] It was now about the middle of April,] *Twenty-four pages of the original Manuscript C., which contained various portions of the earlier part of this book, and to which lord Clarendon has made continual references in his other MS., are unfortunately lost.*

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day levied; and thereupon to conclude, what it would be possible for his majesty to do, in those exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The intelligence, that Waller was still designed for the western expedition, made the king appoint his whole army to be drawn together to a rendezvous at Marlborough; where himself was present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the body to consist, after all the losses and misadventures, of no less than six thousand foot, and above four thousand horse. There that body remained for some weeks, to watch and intend Waller's motion, and to fight with him as soon as was possible. Many things were there consulted for the future; and the quitting Reading, and some other garrisons, proposed, for the increasing the field forces: yet nothing was positively resolved, but to expect clearer evidence what the parliament armies would dispose themselves to do.

The parliament at Oxford prorogued to October.

So the king returned to Oxford, where, upon the desire of the members of parliament who had been called thither, and done all the service they could for the king, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, in their several counties, satisfy the people of the king's importunate desire of peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his majesty's assistance. They were to meet there again in the month of October following.

Then, that his majesty might draw most of the soldiers of that garrison with him out of Oxford, when he should take the field, that city was persuaded to complete the regiment they had begun to form, under the command of a colonel whom the

king had recommended to them; which they did raise to the number of a thousand men. There were likewise two other regiments raised of gentlemen and their servants, and of the scholars of the several colleges and halls of the university; all which regiments did duty there punctually, from the time that the king went into the field, till he returned again to Oxford; and all the lords declared, "that, upon "any emergent occasion, they would mount their "servants upon their horses, to make a good troop "for a sudden service;" which they made good; and thereby, that summer, performed two or three very considerable and important actions. 1644.

By this time there was reason to believe, by all the intelligence that could be procured, and by the change of his quarters, that Waller had laid aside his western march; at least that it was suspended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to recruit both his and the earl of Essex's army, with all possible expedition; and that neither of them should move upon any action till they should be both complete in greater numbers, than either of them had yet marched with. Hereupon, the king's army removed from Marlborough to Newbury; where they remained near a month, that they might be in a readiness to attend the motion of the enemy, and to assist the garrisons of Reading, or Wallingford; or to draw out either, as there should be occasion.

There had been several deliberations in the council of war, and always very different opinions, what should be done with the garrisons when the king should take the field; and the king himself was irresolute upon those debates, what to do. He communicated the several reasons to prince Rupert by

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letters, requiring his advice; who, after he had returned answers, and received replies, made a hasty journey to Oxford from Chester, to wait upon his majesty. And it was then positively resolved, "that "the garrisons of Oxford, Wallingford, Abingdon, "Reading, and Banbury, should be reinforced and "strengthened with all the foot; that a good body "of horse should remain about Oxford, and the rest "should be sent into the west to prince Maurice." If this counsel had been pursued steadily and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good success. Both armies of the enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a siege against any place so well provided and resolved; and it would have been equally uncounsellable to have marched to any distance, and have left such an enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any march they could have made.

But as it was even impossible to have administered such advice to the king, in the strait he was in, which being pursued might not have proved inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those councils, that resolutions, taken upon full debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter debates, and upon objections which had been answered before: some men being in their natures irresolute and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own proposals; others being positive, and not to be altered from what they had once declared, how unreasonably soever, or what alterations soever there were in

the affairs. And the king himself frequently considered more the person who spoke, as he was in his grace or his prejudice, than the counsel itself that was given; and always suspected, at least trusted less to his own judgment than he ought to have done; which rarely deceived him so much as that of other men.

The persons with whom he only consulted in his martial affairs, and how to carry on the war, were (besides prince Rupert, who was at this time absent) the general, who was made earl of Brentford; the lord Wilmot, who was general of the horse; the lord Hopton, who usually commanded an army apart, and was not often with the king's army, but now present; sir Jacob Astley, who was major-general of the army; the lord Digby, who was secretary of state; and sir John Colepepper, master of the rolls; for none of the privy-council, those two only excepted, were called to those consultations; though some of them were still advised with, for the better execution, or prosecution, of what was then and there resolved.

The persons with whom the king consulted in his military affairs at this time.

The general, though he had been, without doubt, a very good officer, and had great experience, and was still a man of unquestionable courage and integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a man of few words, and of great compli-

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ance, and usually delivered that as his opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the king.

Wilmot was a man of a haughty and ambitious nature, of a pleasant wit, and an ill understanding, as never considering above one thing at once; but he considered that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any consideration. He had, from the beginning of the war, been very averse to any advice of the privy-council, and thought fit that the king's affairs (which depended upon the success of the war) should entirely be governed and conducted by the soldiers and men of war, and that no other counsellors should have any credit with his majesty. Whilst prince Rupert was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather personal animosity against him, made any thing that Wilmot said or proposed, enough slighted and contradicted: and the king himself, upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his person, or esteem of his parts. But now, by the prince's absence, and his being the second man in the army, and the contempt he had of the old general, who was there the only officer above him, he grew marvellously elated, and looked upon himself as one whose advice ought to be followed, and submitted to in all things. He had, by his excessive good fellowship, (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the company,) made himself so popular with all the officers of the army, especially of the horse, that he had, in truth, a very great interest; which he desired might appear to the king, that he might have the more interest in him. He was positive in all his advices in council, and bore contradiction very im-

patiently; and because he was most contradicted by the two privy-counsellors, the secretary, and the master of the rolls, who, he saw, had the greatest influence upon the king, he used all the artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the officers of the army, by telling them what they had said in council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the times of jollity, persuaded the old general to believe that they invaded his prerogative, and meddled more in the business of the war, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was; which often put the king to the trouble of converting him. 1644.

The lord Hopton was a man superior to any temptation, and abhorred enough the licence, and the levities, with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tired, and a generosity that was not to be exhausted; a virtue that none of the rest had: but, in the debates concerning the war, was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved, than is agreeable to the office of a commander in chief; which rendered him rather fit for the second, than for the supreme command in an army.

Sir Jacob Astley was an honest, brave, plain man, and as fit for the office he exercised, of major general of the foot, as Christendom yielded; and was so generally esteemed; very discerning and prompt in giving orders, as the occasions required, and most cheerful, and present in any action. In council he used few, but very pertinent words; and was not at

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all pleased with the long speeches usually made there; and which rather confounded, than informed his understanding: so that he rather collected the ends of the debates, and what he was himself to do, than enlarged them by his own discourses; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

The two privy-counsellors, though they were of the most different natures and constitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their opinions; and being, in their parts, much superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the king's judgment to like what they approved: yet one of them, who had in those cases the ascendant over the other, had that excess of fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of the resolutions which had been taken, or upon the suggestions of other men, changed his own mind; and thereupon caused orders to be altered, which produced, or were thought to produce, many inconveniences.

This unsteadiness in counsels, and in matters resolved upon, made the former determination concerning the garrisons to be little considered. The king's army had lain above three weeks at and about Newbury; in which time their numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon their muster near Marlborough, when the king was present. When it was known that both the parliament armies were marched out of London; that under Essex to Windsor; and that of Waller, to the parts between Hertford Bridge and Basing, without any purpose of going farther west; the king's army marched to Reading; and in three days, his majesty being present, they slighted and demolished all the

Reading quitted by the king's forces.

works of that garrison: and then, which was about the middle of May, with the addition of those soldiers, which increased the army five and twenty hundred old soldiers more, very well officered, the army retired to the quarters about Oxford, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to fight with one of the enemy's armies; which they longed exceedingly to do. BOOK VIII. 1644.

The king returned to Oxford, and resolved to stay there till he could have better information what the enemy intended; which was not now so easy [c] as it had formerly been. For, since the conjunction with the Scottish commissioners in one council, for the carrying on the war, little business was brought to be consulted in either of the houses; and there was much greater secrecy than before; few or none [d] being admitted into any kind of trust, but they whose affections were known to concur to the most desperate counsels. So that the designs were still entirely formed, before any part of them were communicated to the earl of Essex; nor was more communicated at a time than was necessary for the present execution; of which he was sensible enough, but could not help it. The intention was, "that the two armies, which marched out together, should after-

[c] which was not now so easy] *This portion which is taken from MS. B. is thus introduced:* The ill accidents of the winter, and the absence of prince Rupert with so considerable a part of the army, and the application of all the levies which had been made to the enabling his highness to proceed in his great enterprise, had kept the king's preparations for the field from any forwardness; so that the parliament forces in two distinct armies, the one under the earl of Essex, the other under Waller, but subject to the earl's orders, marched out of London before the king moved out of Oxford; where he remained till he could fully be informed of their designs; which was not now so easy, &c.

[d] few or none] none

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" ward[e] be distinct; and should only keep together,[f] " till it appeared what course the king meant to " take; and if he stayed in Oxford, it would be fit " for both to be in the siege; the circumvallation " being very great, and to be divided in many places " by the river; which would keep both armies still " asunder under their several officers." But if the king marched out, which they might reasonably presume he would, then the purpose was, " that the " earl of Essex should follow the king, wherever[g] " he went;" which they imagined would be northward; " and that Waller should march into the " west, and subdue that." So that, having so substantially provided for the north by the Scots, and the earl of Manchester; and having an army under the earl of Essex, much superior in number to any the king could be attended with; and the third, under Waller, at liberty for the west; they promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they should make an end of the war that summer.[h]

[e] afterward] always

[f] keep together,] not sever,

[g] wherever] whither ever

[h] that summer.] *This portion is thus continued in MS. B.:* When they came near Oxford, and divided the armies on both sides, Waller to Abingdon, and the earl of Essex to the other side of the town, the king thought it time to withdraw from thence; and, taking all the horse with him, and putting all the foot into the town, in the night he marched to Woodstock; and the next day, finding that the earl of Essex declined the town, and seemed to follow him, his majesty went forward to Evesham intending to have continued his march to Worcester, where he could stay till he saw clearly what the two armies would do. But the earl of Essex, when he saw the king was at that distance, turned with his whole army towards the west, and commanded Waller with his body to follow the king, by which both he and his friends in parliament were disappointed; yet he could not but obey his orders: and with what speed he could he drew his army from the other side of the town, and marched after the king, who had yet the benefit of two or three days' rest for his

It was about the tenth of May, that the earl of troops; and having speedy intelligence that the two armies were parted, and that Waller only attended his motion, his majesty turned back towards Oxford on the Gloucestershire side, and sent present orders, for the general, who had stayed with the foot and cannon in Oxford, to march out with them to a place appointed; where his majesty and the whole body of horse met them; and being joined, were not unwilling to see Waller, who was superior in foot by much, and equal in horse. They looked upon each other a day or two, there being a little river between them, when Waller, having a mind to be at a greater distance, made his army march in no very good order, leaving a good party of horse in the rear. Upon which the van of the king's horse, at a place called Cropredy bridge, about fourteen miles from Oxford, the water being low, by the long dry and hot weather, it being towards the end of June, crossed the river, and charged the enemy's horse, which received them well; and stood the shock so well, that the king's horse gave ground, Wilmot the lieutenant general being taken prisoner. But the earl of Cleveland, with some troops who were well officered, charged them again so rudely, that he freed the lieutenant general within few minutes after he was taken, and routed all the horse; who running away, disordered and routed their own foot; so that the king's troops pursuing them with a sharp appetite, they made a good execution both of the horse and foot, took eight pieces of cannon, with many officers of name; and amongst them, Wemys the general of the ordnance, and the second officer of the army, a Scotchman, whom the king had made master-gunner of England few years before, to the great and sensible discontent of all the English, who understood that service. All this was done by four or five troops of the king's horse, who had marched faster than they ought to have done; the body of the army being behind, as sir Will. Waller's van was above two miles before, when this blow befell their fellows. The king marched with his whole army to overtake the rest, and continued in pursuit, and often in sight of them, two days; but they would not be brought to engagement: and it appeared quickly after, that this small defeat (in which there did not appear to be a thousand men killed and taken prisoners) had so totally broken all that army, that it was never brought to fight after; and he himself, after a little rest about Dunstable and those parts, returned to London, making grievous complaints against the earl of Essex, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted: all which was hearkened to very willingly, and his person received and treated as if he had returned victorious: which was a method very contrary to what was practised in the king's quarters.

The king being thus wonder-

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Essex and sir William Waller marched out of London, with both their armies; and the very next day after the king's army had quitted Reading, the earl of Essex, from Windsor, sent forces to possess it; and recommended it to the city of London, to provide both men, and all other things necessary for the keeping it; which the memory of what they had suffered for the two past years, by being without it,

fully left at liberty, and having with so little loss upon the matter defeated one whole army, his heart was at no ease, with the apprehension of the terrible fright the queen would be in, who was newly delivered of a daughter, (who was afterwards married to the duke of Orleans,) when she saw the earl of Essex with his army before the walls of Exeter, and heard that Waller with another army was in pursuit of his majesty: and therefore he resolved with all possible expedition to follow the earl of Essex. And so returning to Oxford, he stayed only two nights there, to refresh his army, which had had very little rest in eight or ten days; and then he began his march towards the west, taking with him all the garrison that could possibly be drawn from thence, though he left his son the duke of York there; so that the lords of the council were glad immediately to cause all their servants to be listed and put in troops and companies under good officers; by which they disposed the town to raise a good regiment of foot, and the scholars likewise to raise several companies of themselves, and under their own officers; by all which, with the few soldiers that were left, sufficient guards were kept for the safety of the place, and the fortifications were more diligently repaired and prosecuted than they had been in any time: in which the chancellor of the exchequer was so solicitous, by drawing in the country to work, and by collecting money to pay the workmen, that much was imputed to his extraordinary diligence and industry. At Oxford, though every ill accident always changed the humours there, the town being full of lords and many persons of the best quality, (besides those of the council,) with very many ladies, who were not easily pleased, and kept others from being so, and they had hardly yet recovered the discomposure they had been in, when the king went from thence towards the west, and when he took away all the strength of the garrison with him, which made them think themselves abandoned, and of other places to retire to, which was the reason that the king thought it necessary to leave the duke of York there, to compose their minds the better.

easily disposed them to do. By this means the earl had the opportunity to join with Waller's army when he should think fit; which before they could not do with convenience or security. Nor did they ever after join in one body, but kept at a fit distance, to be able, if there were occasion, to help each other.

The earl of Essex's army consisted of all his old troops, which had wintered about St. Alban's, and in Bedfordshire; and being now increased with four regiments of the trained bands, and auxiliaries within the city of London, did not amount to less than ten thousand horse and foot. Waller had likewise received a large recruit from London, Kent, and Sussex; and was little inferior in numbers to Essex, and in reputation above him. When the king's army retired from Reading, the horse quartered about Wantage and Farringdon, and all the foot were put into Abingdon, with a resolution to quit or defend that town, according to the manner of the enemy's advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the east side, where, besides some indifferent fortifications, they had the advantage of the river, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the west side from Wantage and Farringdon, they would draw out and fight, if the enemy were not by much superior in number; and, in that case, they would retire with the whole army to Oxford.

Being satisfied with this resolution, they lay in that quiet posture, without making the least impression upon the enemy, by beating up his quarters; which might easily have been done; or restraining them from making incursions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill humour and

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negligence of Wilmot. The earl of Essex advanced with his army towards Abingdon; and upon the east part of the town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their defending it. But they were no sooner advertised of it, but the general, early the next morning, marched with all the foot out of Abingdon, the horse being come thither in the night to make good the retreat: and all this was done before his majesty had the least notice or suspicion of it. As soon as his majesty was informed of it by sir Charles Blunt, the scout master general, whom the general had sent to acquaint the king with the resolution, he sent sir Charles Blunt back to the general, to let him know the great dislike he had of their purpose to quit the town, and to command him to stay, and not to advance till his majesty came to him; which he made all possible haste to do. But before the messenger could return, the army was within sight of Oxford; and so the foot was drawn through the city, and the horse quartered in the villages about the town.

Abingdon quitted by the king's forces.

Abingdon was in this manner, and to the king's infinite trouble, quitted; whither a party of Essex's army came the same night; and the next day, himself with all his foot entered the town; his horse being quartered about it. He then called Waller to bring up his army near him, that they might resolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head quarter at Wantage: and so, without the striking one blow, they got the possession of Reading, Abingdon; and were masters of all Berkshire; and forced the king to draw his whole army of horse and foot on the north side of Oxford; where they were to

Possessed by the earl of Essex.

feed on his own quarters, and to consider how to keep Oxford itself from being besieged, and the king from being enclosed in it. BOOK VIII. 1644.

This was the deplorable condition to which the king was reduced before the end of the month of May; insomuch that it was generally reported at London, "that Oxford was taken, and the king a "prisoner;" and others more confidently gave it out, "that his majesty resolved to come to Lon-"don:" of which the parliament was not without some apprehension, though not so much, as of the king's putting himself into the hands of the earl of Essex, and into his protection; which they could not endure to think of; and this troubled them so much, that the committee of both kingdoms, who conducted the war, writ this letter to their general.

"My lord,

"We are credibly informed, that his majesty in-"tends to come for London. We desire you, that "you will do your endeavour to inform yourself of "the same; and if you think that his majesty in-"tends at all to come to the armies, that you ac-"quaint us with the same; and do nothing therein, "until the houses shall give direction."

So much jealousy they had of the earl, and the more, because they saw not else what the king could do; who could not entertain any reasonable expectation of increase, or addition of force from the north, or from the west; prince Rupert being then in his march into Lancashire, for the relief of the earl of Derby, (besieged in his castle of Latham,) and prince Maurice being still engaged in

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the unfortunate siege of Lyme in Dorsetshire, a little fisher-town; which, after he had lain before it a month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the first day he came before it. In this perplexity, the king sent the lord Hopton to Bristol, to provide better for the security of that important city; where he knew Waller had many friends; and himself resolved yet to stay at Oxford, till he saw how the two armies would dispose themselves; that, when they were so divided that they could not presently join, he might fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two armies lay so long quiet near each other, without pressing the advantages they had, or improving the confusion and distraction, which the king's forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders were given so to quarter the king's army, that it might keep the rebels from passing over either of the rivers, Cherwell, or Isis, which run on the east and west sides of the city the foot being, for the most part, quartered towards the Cherwell, and the horse, with some dragoons, near the Isis.

In this posture all the armies lay quiet, and without action, for the space of a day; which somewhat composed the minds of those within Oxford, and of the troops without; which had not yet recovered their dislike of their having quitted Abingdon, and thereby of being so straitened in their quarters. Some of Waller's forces attempted to pass the Isis at Newbridge, but were repulsed by the king's dragoons. But the next day Essex, with his whole army, got over the Thames at Sandford ferry, and marched to Islip, where he made his quarters; and,

in his way, made a halt upon Bullington-green, that the city might take a full view of his army, and he of it. In order to which, himself, with a small party of horse, came within cannon shot; and little parties of horse came very near the ports, and had light skirmishes with some of the king's horse, without any great hurt on either side. 1644.

The next morning, a strong party of the earl's army endeavoured to pass over the Cherwell, at Gosworth-bridge; but were repulsed by the musketeers with very considerable loss; and so retired to their body. And now the earl being engaged, with his whole army, on the east side of the river Cherwell, whereby he was disabled to give or receive any speedy assistance to or from Waller; the king resolved to attempt the repossessing himself of Abingdon, and to take the opportunity to fight with Waller singly, before he could be relieved from the other army. In order to this, all the foot were, in the evening drawn off from the guard of the passes, and marched through Oxford in the night towards Abingdon; and the earl of Cleveland, a man of signal courage, and an excellent officer upon any bold enterprise, advanced, with a party of one hundred and fifty horse, to the town itself; where there were a thousand foot, and four hundred horse of Waller's army; and entered the same, and killed many, and took some prisoners: but, upon the alarm, he was so overpowered, that his prisoners escaped, though he killed the chief commander, and made his retreat good, with the loss only of two officers, and as many common soldiers; and so both the attempt upon Abingdon was given over, and the design of fighting Waller laid aside; and the

BOOK VIII. army returned again to their old post, on the north side of Oxford.

1644. Sir Jacob Astley undertook the command himself at Gosworth-bridge, where he perceived the earl intended to force his passage; and presently cast up breastworks, and made a redoubt for the defence of his men, and repulsed the enemy, the second time, very much to their damage and loss; who renewed their assault two or three days together, and planted cannon to facilitate their passage, which did little hurt; but they still lost many men in the attempt. On the other side, Waller's forces from Abingdon did not find the new bridge so well defended; but overpowering those guards, and having got boats, in which they put over their men, both above and below, they got that passage over the river Isis: by which they might have brought over all their army, and fallen upon the king's rear, whilst he was defending the other side.

It was now high time for the king to provide for his own security, and to escape the danger he was in, of being shut up in Oxford. Waller lost no time, but the next day passed over five thousand horse and foot, by Newbridge: the van whereof quartered at Ensham, and, the king's foot being drawn off from Gosworth-bridge, Essex immediately brought his men over the Cherwell; and quartered that night at Blechingdon; many of his horse advancing to Woodstock; so that the king seemed to them to be perfectly shut in between them; and to his own people, his condition seemed so desperate, that one of those with whom he used to advise in his most secret affairs, and whose fidelity was never suspected, proposed to him to render himself, upon

conditions, to the earl of Essex; which his majesty rejected with great indignation; yet had the goodness to conceal the name of the proposer; and said, "that possibly he might be found in the hands of "the earl of Essex, but he would be dead first." Word was given, "for all the horse to be together, "at such an hour," to expect orders; and a good body of foot, with cannon, marched through the town towards Abingdon; by which it was concluded, that both armies would be amused, and Waller induced to draw back over Newbridge: and, as soon as it was evening, the foot, and cannon, returned to their old post on the north side. 1644.

The king resolved, for the encouragement of the lords of the council, and the persons of quality who were in Oxford, to leave his son the duke of York there; and promised, if they should be besieged, "to do all he could to relieve them, before they "should be reduced to extremity." He appointed then, "that two thousand and five hundred choice "musketeers should be drawn out of the whole foot, "under the command of sir Jacob Astley, and four "experienced colonels; all which should, without "colours, repair to the place where the horse attended to receive orders, and that the rest of the "foot should remain together on the north side, "and so be applied to the defence of Oxford, if it "should be besieged."

All things being in this order, on Monday the third of June, about nine of the clock at night, the king, with the prince, and those lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of quality who were not appointed, and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind,

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marched out of the north port, attended by his own troop, to the place where the horse, and commanded foot, waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, marched between the two armies, and by daybreak were at Hanborough, some miles beyond all their quarters. But the king rested not till the afternoon, when he found himself at Burford; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any army that was to follow with baggage, and a train of artillery: so that he was content to refresh his men there; and supped himself; yet was not without apprehension that he might be followed by a body of the enemy's horse; and therefore, about nine of the clock, he continued his march from Burford over the Cotswold, and by midnight reached Burton upon the Water; where he gave himself, and his wearied troops, more rest and refreshment.

The morning after the king left Oxford, the foot marched again through Oxford, as if they meant to go to Abingdon, to continue that amusement which the day before had prevailed with Waller, to send many of his men back, and to delay his own advance; and likewise, that quarters might be provided for them against their return; which they did by noon. The earl of Essex had that morning, from Blechingdon, sent some horse to take a view of Oxford, and to learn what was doing there. And they seeing the colours standing, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the king was still there, and as much in his power as ever. Waller had earlier intelligence of his majesty's motion, and sent a good body of horse to follow him, and to retard his march, till he could come up: and

his horse made such haste, that they found in Burford some of the straggling soldiers, who out of weariness, or for love of drink, had stayed behind their fellows. The earl of Essex followed likewise with his army, and quartered at Chipping Norton; and Waller's horse were as far as Broadway, when the king had reached Evesham; where he intended to rest, as in a secure place; though his garrison at Tewkesbury had been, the night before, surprised by a strong party from Gloucester; the chief officers being killed, and the rest taken prisoners; most of the common soldiers making their escape, and coming to Evesham. But, upon intelligence that both armies followed by strong marches, and it being possible that they might get over the river Avon about Stratford, or some other place, and so get between the king and Worcester, his majesty changed his purpose of staying at Evesham, and presently marched to Worcester, having given order for the breaking of the bridge at Pershore; which was, unwarily, so near done before all the troops were passed, that, by the sudden falling of an arch, major Bridges, of the prince's regiment, a man of good courage and conduct, with two or three other officers of horse, and about twenty common men, fell unfortunately into the Avon, and were drowned.

The earl of Essex marches towards the west:

The earl of Essex, when he saw the king was got full two days' march before him, and that it was impossible so to overtake him, as to bring him into their power, resolved to pursue him no farther, but to consult what was else to be done; and, to that purpose, called a council of all the principal officers of both armies, to attend him at Burford; where it was resolved, "that Waller, who had the

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"lighter ordnance, and the less carriages, should "have such an addition of forces, as Massey, the "governor of Gloucester, should be able to furnish "him with; and so should pursue and follow the "king wheresoever he should go; and that the earl "of Essex, who had the greater ordnance, and the "heavier carriages, should prosecute the other de-"sign of relieving Lyme, and reducing the west to "the obedience of the parliament."

Waller opposed this resolution all he could; and urged some order and determination of the committee of both kingdoms in the point; and, "that "the west was assigned to him, as his province, "when the two armies should think fit to sever "from each other." However, Essex gave him positive orders, as his general, "to march according to "the advice of the council of war;" which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous complaints to the parliament, of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at Westminster were so incensed against the earl of Essex, that they writ a very angry and imperious letter to him, in which they reproached him, "for not submitting to the directions which "they had given;" and required him "to follow "their former directions, and to suffer Waller to "attend the service of the west." Which letter was brought to him before he had marched above two days westward. But the earl chose rather to answer their letter, than to obey their order; and writ to them, "that their directions had been con-"trary to the discipline of war, and to reason; and "that, if he should now return, it would be a great "encouragement to the enemy in all places;" and subscribed his letter, "Your innocent, though sus-

"pected servant, Essex;" and then prosecuted his resolution, and continued his march for the west.

1644. Waller towards Worcester, after the king.

When Waller found there was no remedy, he obeyed his orders with much diligence and vigour; and prosecuted his march towards Worcester, where his majesty then was; and, in his way, persuaded, rather than forced, the garrison of Sudely-castle, the strong house of the lord Chandois, to deliver up that place to him. The lord of that castle was a young man of spirit and courage; and had for two years served the king very bravely in the head of a regiment of horse, which himself had raised at his own charge; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the fatigue, and having spent most of his money, and without any diminution of his affection, left the king, under pretence of travel; but making London his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place; which he enjoyed, without considering the issue of the war, or shewing any inclination to the parliament; nor did he, in any degree, contribute to the delivery of his house; which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the government of sir William Morton, a gentleman of the long robe; who, in the beginning of the war, cast off his gown, as many other gallant men of that profession of the law did, and served as lieutenant colonel in the regiment of horse under the lord Chandois; and had given so frequent testimony of signal courage in several actions, in which he had received many wounds, both by the pistol and the sword, that his mettle was never suspected; and his fidelity as little questioned: and after many years of imprisonment, sustained with great firmness and constancy, he lived to re-

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ceive the reward of his merit, after the return of the king; who made him first a sergeant at law, and afterwards a judge of the king's bench; where he sat many years, and discharged the office with much gravity and learning; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by robbing on the highway. He was unfortunate, though without fault, in the giving up that castle in so unseasonable a conjuncture; which was done by the faction and artifice of an officer within, who had found means to go out to Waller, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the garrison; which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and so, by the mutiny of the soldiers, it was given up; and the governor made prisoner, and sent to the Tower; where he remained some years after the end of the war. From hence Waller, with great expedition, marched to Evesham; where the evil inhabitants received him willingly; and had, as soon as the king left them, repaired their bridge over the Avon, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not else so soon have done.

The king rested some days at Worcester, whereby he very much refreshed his troops, which were there spared from doing duty; and likewise, by the loyalty of that good town, and the affection of the gentry of that county, who retired thither for their security, he procured both shoes and stockings, and money for his soldiers: and then, upon good information, that Waller was marched out of Evesham with his whole army towards Worcester, which he would probably besiege, the king resolved not to be found there; and therefore, having left that city well provided, and in good heart, his majesty removed with his little army to Bewdley, that he might keep the

river Severn between him and the enemy; the foot being quartered together at Bewdley, and the horse by the side of the river towards Bridgenorth. The posture in which the king was, made Waller conclude that his majesty intended his course to Shrewsbury, and to the more northern parts. And it is true, that, without any such resolution, orders were sent to Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, and other garrisons, "that they should make all possible pro-"visions of corn, and other victual; which they "should cause, in great quantities, to be brought thi-"ther;" which confirmed Waller in his former conjecture, and made him advance with his army beyond the king, that he might be nearer Shrewsbury than he. But, God knows, the king was without any other design, than to avoid the enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of foot, and without cannon, propose reasonably to fight a battle: and he had too many good reasons against going to either of those places, or to those parts, which Waller conceived him inclined to; and his majesty might well assume the complaint and expression of king David, "that he *was hunted as a partridge upon* "*the mountains;*" and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest.

1644.

In this perplexity, it looked like the bounty of Providence, that Waller was advanced so far: upon which, the king took a sudden resolution, to return with all expedition to Worcester, and to make haste to Evesham; where having broke the bridge, and so left the river of Avon at his back, he might be able, by quick marches, to join with that part of his army, which he had left at Oxford; and might thereby be in a condition to fight with Waller, and

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to prosecute any other design. Upon this good resolution, care was taken for all the boats to come both from Bridgenorth and Worcester, that the foot might, with the more speed and ease, be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. Insomuch, that the next day, being embarked early in the morning, the foot arrived so soon at Worcester, that they might very well have marched that night to Evesham, but that many of the horse, which were quartered beyond Bewdley towards Bridgenorth, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both horse and foot should remain that night together at Worcester; which they did accordingly.

The next morning, the king found no cause to alter any thing in his former resolution; and received good intelligence, that Waller, without knowing any thing of his motion, remained still in his old quarters; whereupon he marched very fast to Evesham; nor would he stay there; but gave order for the horse and foot, without delay, to march through it; after he had provided for the breaking down the bridge, and made the inhabitants of the town pay two hundred pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of Waller; and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of shoes for the use of the soldiers; which, without any long pause, was submitted to, and performed. Then the army marched that night to Broadway, where they quartered; and very early the next morning, they mounted the hills near Camden; and there they had time to breathe, and to look with pleasure on the places they had passed through; having now left Waller, and the ill ways he must pass, far enough behind; for even

in that season of the year, the ways in that vale were very deep.

1644.

Now the king sent colonel Fielding, and, lest he might miscarry, (for both from Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Sudely-castle, the enemy had many scouts abroad,) two or three other messengers, to the lords of the council at Oxford, to let them know "of his "happy return;" and that he meant to quarter that night at Burford; and the next at Witney; where he did expect, that all his foot, with their colours and cannon, would meet him; which, with unspeakable joy, they did. So that on Thursday the twentieth of June, which was within seventeen days after he had left Oxford in that disconsolate condition, the king found himself in the head of his army, from which he had been so severed, after so many accidents and melancholic perplexities, to which majesty has been seldom exposed. Nor can all the circumstances of that peregrination be too particularly and punctually set down. For as they administered much delight after they were passed, and gave them great argument of acknowledging God's good providence in the preservation of the king, and, in a manner, snatching him as a brand out of the fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to posterity, to see the most exact relation of an action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the king thought himself in a posture not only to abide Waller, if he approached towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline fighting with his majesty.

In the short time the king had been absent, the

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garrison at Oxford was not idle. When the king in the spring had prepared for the field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the garrison at Reading, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser garrisons, at a less distance from Oxford; and thereupon the garrison at Bostal-house, reputed a strong place, upon the edge of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, was appointed to demolish the works and fortifications, and to retire, and join with the army: which was no sooner done, but the garrison at Aylesbury, that had felt the effects of the other's ill neighbourhood, possessed the place, and put a garrison into it; which, after the king had left Oxford, and both the armies of Essex and Waller were gone from before it, gave little less trouble to that city, and obstructed the provisions which should come thither, almost as much as one of the armies had done. This brought great complaints and clamour from the country, and from the town, to the lords of the council; and was ever made an excuse for their not complying with the commands they sent out, for labourers to work upon the fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other service of the town. When both armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the king, that there seemed for the present no reasonable apprehension of being besieged, the lords considered of a remedy to apply to this evil from Bostal-house; and receiving encouragement from colonel Gage, (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large,) who offered to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a party of commanded men of the foot, which the king had left there, with three pieces of cannon, and a troop of horse of the town, to obey

his orders, who, by the break of day, appeared before the place; and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the church, and the outhouses, and then battered the house itself with his cannon; which they within would not long endure; but desired a parley. Upon which the house was rendered, with the ammunition, one piece of ordnance, which was all they had; and much good provision of victual, whereof they had plenty for horse and man; and had liberty given them to go away with their arms and horses; very easy conditions for so strong a post; which was obtained with the loss of one inferior officer, and two or three common men. Here the colonel left a garrison, that did not only defend Oxford from those mischievous incursions, but did very near support itself, by the contribution it drew from Buckinghamshire, besides the prey it frequently took from the very neighbourhood of Aylesbury.

The earl of Essex, by slow and easy marches, and without any opposition or trouble, entered into Dorsetshire; and by his great civility, and affability towards all men, and the very good discipline in his army, wrought very much upon the people. Insomuch that his forces rather increased than diminished; which had, during his being before Oxford, been much lessened, not only by the numbers which were killed and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilst the sharp encounters continued at Gosworth-bridge. It can hardly be imagined, how great a difference there was in the humour, disposition, and manner of the army under Essex, and the other under Waller, in their behaviour and humanity towards the people; and, consequently, in

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the reception they found among them; the demeanour and carriage of those under Waller being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: besides that the people, in all places, were not without some affection, and even reverence towards the earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his father, had been always universally popular.

When he came to Blandford, he had a great mind to make himself master of Weymouth, if he could compass it without engaging his army before it; which he resolved not to do; however it was little out of his way to pass near it. Colonel Ashburnham, then governor of Weymouth, was made choice of for that command, upon the opinion of his courage and dexterity; and, to make way for him, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had been, the year before, removed from that charge; and was thereby so much disobliged, that he quitted the king's party, and gave himself up, body and soul, to the service of the parliament, with an implacable animosity against the royal interest. The colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough solicitous to finish the fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy an army, yet too strong to be delivered upon the approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter, because the governor afterwards pressed to have the whole examined before a council of war, where he produced a warrant under the hand of prince Maurice, "that, the town being untenable, he should, upon the advance of the earl of Essex, put a sufficient strength into Portland-castle, and retire thither;" which he had done; and was, by the council of war, absolved from any

crime. Yet, the truth is, however absolved, he lost reputation by it; and was thought to have left the town too soon, though he meant to have returned again, after he had visited Portland. But in the mean time the townsmen mutinied, and sent to the earl of Essex when he was near the town; whereupon he came thither; which he would not otherwise have done; and gave the garrison leave to march with their arms to prince Maurice; and so became master of Weymouth; and, leaving men enough out of the country to defend it, without any delay he prosecuted his march to Lyme; from whence prince Maurice, upon the news of the loss of Weymouth, had retired with haste enough towards Exeter, with a body of full five and twenty hundred foot, and eighteen hundred horse; after he had put a garrison of five hundred men into Wareham, and with some loss of reputation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

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Weymouth delivered to the earl of Essex.

Lyme relieved by him.

As soon as the king had joined his army at Witney, which now consisted of full five thousand five hundred foot, and very near four thousand horse, with a convenient train of artillery, he resolved no longer to live upon his own quarters, which had been too much wasted by friends and enemies; but to visit the enemy's country; and so, the next day, he marched towards Buckingham, where he would stay and expect Waller, (of whose motion he yet heard nothing,) and from whence, if he appeared not, his majesty might enter into the associated counties, and so proceed northward, if, upon intelligence from thence, he found it reasonable. Whilst the king stayed at Buckingham, and thought him-

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self now in a good condition to fight with the enemy, (his troops every day bringing in store of provisions, and, being now in a country where they were not expected, met with many cart-loads of wine, grocery, and tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from London to Coventry and Warwick; all which were very welcome to Buckingham,) a new and unexpected trouble fell upon him by the ill humour and faction in his own army. Wilmot continued still sullen and perverse, and every day grew more insolent; and had contracted such an animosity against the lord Digby, and the master of the rolls, that he persuaded many officers of the army, especially of the horse, where he was most entirely obeyed, to join in a petition to the king, "that those two counsellors might be ex-"cluded, and be no more present in councils of "war;" which they promised to do.

Waller remained still in Worcestershire; upon which it was again consulted, what the king was to do. Some proposed "the marching presently into "the associated counties;" others, "to lose no time "in endeavouring to join with prince Rupert." Wilmot, without ever communicating it with the king, positively advised, "that they might presently "march towards London, and, now both their ge-"nerals and armies were far from them, make trial "what the true affection of the city was; and that, "when the army was marched as far as St. Alban's, "the king should send such a gracious message "both to the parliament and city, as was most like "to prevail upon them;" and concluded, as if he knew "that this way of proceeding would be very "much approved of by the army." This extrava-

gant motion, with all the circumstances of it, troubled the king very much; yet he thought not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that petition, which he knew was framing among the officers; but wished them, "that such a message "should be prepared, and then that he would com- "municate both that, and what concerned his march "towards London, to the lords of the council at "Oxford; that in so weighty an affair he might re- "ceive their counsel." To that purpose the lord Digby, and the master of the rolls, were sent to Oxford; who, after two days, returned without any approbation of the march, or the message by the lords. But all that intrigue fell of itself, upon the sure intelligence, "that Waller had left Worcester- "shire, and marched, with what speed he could, to "find his majesty;" which gave new argument of debate.

When the king had so dexterously deceived and eluded him by his quick march to and from Worcester, Waller, who had not timely information of it, and less suspected it, thought it not to the purpose to tire his army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but first shewed it at all the walls of Worcester, to terrify that city, which had contemned his power a year before, when it was not so well able to resist it. But he quickly discerned he could do no good there: then he marched towards Gloucester, having sent to colonel Massey to send him some men out of Gloucester; which he, being a creature of Essex's, refused to do. Upon this denial, he marched into Warwickshire; and appointed his rendezvous in Keinton field, the place where the first battle was fought. There he received an ad-

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dition of seven troops of horse, and about six hundred foot, from Warwick and from Coventry, with eleven pieces of ordnance. With this recruit he marched confidently towards the king; of which his majesty being informed, that he might the sooner meet him, he marched with his army to Brackley, when Waller was near Banbury; and the armies coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair sunshine in the afternoon, after a very wet morning, both endeavoured to possess a piece of ground they well knew to be of advantage; which being nearer to Waller, and the king passing his whole army through the town of Banbury, before he could come to it, Waller had first his men upon it in good order of battle, before the king could reach thither: so that the king lay that night in the field, half a mile east of Banbury, the river of Cherwell being between the two armies.

The fight at Cropredy-bridge.

The king resolved to make Waller draw off from that advantage ground, where he had stood two days; and, in order thereunto, marched away, as if he would enter farther into Northamptonshire: and he no sooner moved, but Waller likewise drew off from his ground, and coasted on the other side of the river, but at such a distance, that it was thought he had no mind to be engaged. The van of the king's army was led by the general, and Wilmot: in the body was the king and the prince, and the rear consisted of one thousand commanded foot, under colonel Thelwell, with the earl of Northampton's and the earl of Cleveland's brigades of horse. And, that the enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a party of dragoons was sent to keep Cropredy-bridge, until the army was passed beyond

it. The army marching in this order, intelligence was brought to the king, "that there was a body of "three hundred horse within less than two miles of "the van of the army, that marched to join with "Waller; and that they might be easily cut off, if "the army mended their pace." Whereupon, orders were sent to the foremost horse, "that they "should move faster," the van and the middle having the same directions, without any notice given to the rear. Waller quickly discerned the great distance that was suddenly grown between the king's body and his rear, and presently advanced with fifteen hundred horse, one thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, to Cropredy-bridge, which were quickly too strong for the dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint resistance: so that this party advanced above half a mile, pursuing their design of cutting off the king's rear, before they should be able to get up to the body of the army. To facilitate this execution, he had sent one thousand horse more, to pass over at a ford a mile below Cropredy-bridge, and to fall upon the rear of all. Timely notice being given of this to the earl of Cleveland, who was in the van of that division, and "of the enemy's having passed at Crop-"redy," (which was confirmed by the running of the horse, and scattered foot,) "and that there stood "two bodies of horse without moving, and faced "the army:" thereupon the earl presently drew up his brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass, where he discerned a great body of the rebels' horse drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his rear. It was no time to expect orders; but the earl, led by his own great spirit, charged presently that body

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with great fury, which sustained it not with equal courage; losing a cornet, and many prisoners.

This alarm had quickly reached the king, who sent to the van to return, and himself drew up those about him, to a little hill beyond the bridge; where he saw the enemy preparing for a second charge upon the earl of Cleveland. The king commanded the lord Bernard Stewart, a valiant young gentleman, who commanded his own guards, "to "make haste to the assistance of the rear; and, in "his way, to charge those two bodies of horse which "faced his majesty." He, with above a hundred of gallant and stout gentlemen, returned instantly over the bridge, and made haste towards those two bodies of horse; who, seeing their fellows routed by the earl of Cleveland, were then advancing to charge him in the flank, as he was following the execution. But the presence of this troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little stay, accompany their fellows in their flight; which very much facilitated the defeat that quickly ensued.

The earl of Cleveland, after his short encounter, made a stand under a great ash, (where the king had but half an hour before stayed and dined,) not understanding what the enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceived a body of their horse of sixteen cornets, and as many colours of foot, placed within the hedges, and all within musket-shot of him, and advancing upon him; which he likewise did upon them with notable vigour; and having stood their musket and carabine shot, he charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the officers of his brigade, that he routed both horse and foot, and

chased them with good execution beyond their cannon: all which, being eleven pieces, were taken; with two barricadoes of wood, which were drawn upon wheels, and in each seven small brass and leather guns, charged with case-shot; most of their cannoneers were killed, and the general of their ordnance taken prisoner. This man, one Weemes, a Scotchman, had been as much obliged by the king, as a man of his condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made master gunner of England, with a pension of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his life, (which was looked upon as some disrespect to the English nation,) and having never done the king the least service, he took the first opportunity to disserve him; and having been engaged against him, from the beginning of the rebellion, he was now preferred by them, for his eminent disloyalty, to be general of the ordnance in the army of sir William Waller; who was very much advised by him in all matters of importance. Besides Weemes, there was taken prisoner Baker, lieutenant colonel to sir William Waller's own regiment, and five or six lieutenant colonels and captains, of as good names as were amongst them; with many lieutenants, ensigns, and cornets, quartermasters; and above one hundred common soldiers; many more being slain in the charge. The earl pursued them as far as the bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their dragoons, which were placed there to make good their retreat; all which fled with them, or before. And so the earl, having cleared that side of the river, and not knowing how far he was from the army, retired, as he had good reason to do; having

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lost, in this notable action, two colonels, sir William Boteler, and sir William Clarke, both gentlemen of Kent, of fair fortunes, who had raised and armed their regiments at their own charge, who were both killed dead upon the place, with one captain more of another regiment, and not above fourteen common soldiers.

At the same time, the earl of Northampton discovered that party of the enemy's horse, which had found a passage over the river a mile below, to follow him in the rear; and presently faced about with those regiments of his brigade. Upon which, without enduring the charge, the whole body betook themselves to flight, and got over the pass they had so newly been acquainted with, with little loss, because they prevented the danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their flight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never returned again to their army. The lord Bernard, with the king's troop, seeing there was no enemy left on that side, drew up in a large field opposite to the bridge; where he stood, whilst the cannon, on the other side, played upon him, until his majesty and the rest of the army passed by them, and drew into a body upon the fields near Wilscot. Waller instantly quitted Cropredy, and drew up his whole army upon the high grounds, which are between Cropredy and Hanwell, opposite to the king's quarters about a mile; the river of Cherwell, and some low grounds, being between both armies; which had a full view of each other.

It was now about three of the clock in the afternoon, the weather very fair, and very warm, (it being the 29th day of June,) and the king's army

being now together, his majesty resolved to prosecute his good fortune, and to go to the enemy, since they would not come to him: and, to that purpose, sent two good parties, to make way for him to pass both at Cropredy-bridge, and the other pass a mile below; over which the enemy had so newly passed: both which places were strongly guarded by them. To Cropredy they sent such strong bodies of foot, to relieve each other as they should be pressed, that those sent by the king thither could make no impression upon them; but were repulsed, till the night came, and severed them; all parties being tired with the duty of the day. But they who were sent to the other pass, a mile below, after a short resistance, gained it, and a mill adjoining; where after they had killed some, they took the rest prisoners; and from thence, did not only defend themselves that and the next day, but did the enemy much hurt; expecting still that their fellows should master the other pass, that so they might advance together. 1644.

Here the king was prevailed with to make trial of another expedient. Some men, from the conference they had with the prisoners, others from other intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a message were now sent of grace and pardon to all the officers and soldiers of that army, they would forthwith lay down their arms: and it was very notorious, that multitudes ran every day from thence. How this message should be sent, so that it might be effectually delivered, was the only question that remained: and it was agreed, "that sir Edward "Walker" (who was both garter king at arms, and secretary to the council of war) "should be sent to "publish that his majesty's grace." But he wisely

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desired, "that a trumpet might be first sent for a "pass;" the barbarity of that people being notorious, that they regarded not the laws of arms, or of nations. Whereupon a trumpet was sent to sir William Waller, to desire "a safe conduct for a "gentleman, who should deliver a gracious message "from his majesty." After two hours' consideration, he returned answer, "that he had no power to "receive any message of grace or favour from his "majesty, without the consent of the two houses of "parliament at Westminster, to whom his majesty, "if he pleased, might make his addresses." And as soon as the trumpet was gone, as an evidence of his resolution, he caused above twenty shot of his greatest cannon to be made at the king's army, and as near the place as they could, where his majesty used to be.

When both armies had stood upon the same ground, and in the same posture, for the space of two days, they both drew off to a greater distance from each other; and, from that time, never saw each other. It then quickly appeared, by Waller's still keeping more aloof from the king, and his marching up and down from Buckingham, sometimes towards Northampton, and sometimes towards Warwick, that he was without other design, than of recruiting his army; and that the defeat of that day at Cropredy was much greater, than it then appeared to be; and that it even broke the heart of his army. And it is very probable, that if the king, after he had rested and refreshed his men three or four days, which was very necessary, in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual duty, besides that the provisions would not hold longer in the same quar-

ters, had followed Waller, when it was evident he would not follow the king, he might have destroyed that army without fighting: for it appeared afterwards, without its being pursued, that within fourteen days after that action at Cropredy, Waller's army, that before consisted of eight thousand, was so much wasted, that there remained not with him half that number.

But the truth is, from the time that the king discovered that mutinous spirit in the officers, governed by Wilmot, at Buckingham, he was unsatisfied with the temper of his own army, and did not desire a thorough engagement, till he had a little time to reform some, whom he resolved never more heartily to trust; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were misled without any malice, or evil intention. But when he now found himself so much at liberty from two great armies, which had so straitly encompassed him, within little more than a month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a state, in which it could, for the present, do him little harm; his heart was at no ease, with apprehension of the terrible fright the queen would be in, (who was newly delivered of a daughter, that was afterwards married to the duke of Orleans,) when she saw the earl of Essex before the walls of Exeter, and should be at the same time informed, that Waller was with another army in pursuit of himself. His majesty resolved therefore, with all possible expedition, to follow the earl of Essex, in hopes that he should be able to fight a battle with him, before Waller should be in a condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improved, by a conjunction with prince Maurice; who, though he retired before Essex, would be well able,

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by the north of Devonshire, to meet the king, when he should know that he marched that way.

His majesty had no sooner taken this resolution, than he gave notice of it to the lords of the council at Oxford; and sent an express into the west, to inform the queen of it; who, by the way, carried orders to the lord Hopton, "to draw what men he "could out of Monmouthshire, and South Wales, "into Bristol; that himself might meet his majesty "with as many as he could possibly draw out of "that garrison." So, without any delay, the whole army, with what expedition was possible, marched towards the west over the Cotswold to Cirencester; and so to Bath; where he arrived on the 15th day of July, and stayed there one whole day, to refresh his army; which stood enough in need of it.

The king marches towards the west.

The king had scarce marched two days westward, when he was surprised with ill news[c] from the north; for, after he had, by an express from Oxford, received intelligence, "that prince Rupert had not "only relieved York, but totally defeated the Scots, "with many particulars to confirm it," (all which was so much believed there, that they had made public fires of joy for the victory,) he now received quite contrary information, and was too surely convinced, that his whole army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble actions performed by prince Rupert in the relief of Latham, and the reduction of Bolton, and all other places in that large county, (Manchester only excepted,) in which the rebels lost very many, much blood having been shed in taking places by assault, which were too obstinately defended; the prince had marched out of Lancashire with so good reputation, and had

[c] ill news] terrible news

given his orders so effectually to Goring, who lay in Lincolnshire with that body of horse that belonged to the marquis of Newcastle's army, that they happily joined him; and marched together towards York, with such expedition, that the enemy was so surprised, that they found it necessary to raise the siege in confusion enough; and leaving one whole side of the town free, drew to the other side, in great disorder and consternation; there being irreconcileable differences, and jealousies, between the officers, and, indeed, between the nations: the English resolving to join no more with the Scots, and they, on the other side, as weary of their company and discipline; so that the prince had done his work; and if he had sat still, the enemy's great army[d] would have mouldered to nothing, and been exposed to any advantage his highness would take of them. 1644.

An account of the battle of Marston-moor.

But the dismal fate of the kingdom would not permit so much sobriety of counsel[e]: one side of the town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire communication with those in the town, and all provision brought in abundantly out of the country, but the prince, without consulting with the marquis of Newcastle, or any of the officers within the town, sent for all the soldiers to draw out, and put the whole army in battalia, on that side where the enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preserve them but a present battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distracted them. And though that party of the king's horse which charged the Scots, so totally routed and defeated their whole army, that they fled all ways for many miles together, and were knocked on the head, and taken

[d] the enemy's great army] the other great army

[e] of counsel] *Not in MS.*

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prisoners by the country, and Lesley their general fled ten miles, and was taken prisoner by a constable, (from whence the news of the victory was speedily brought to Newark, and thence sent by an express to Oxford; and so received and spread as aforesaid,) yet the English horse, commanded by Fairfax and Cromwell, charged[f] so well, and in such excellent order, being no sooner broken than they rallied again, and charged as briskly, that, though both Fairfax and Cromwell were hurt, and both above the shoulders, and many good officers killed, they prevailed over that body of horse which opposed them, and totally routed and beat them off the field; and[g] almost the whole body of the marquis of Newcastle's foot were cut off.

The marquis himself, and his brave brother, sir Charles Cavendish, (who was a man of the noblest and largest mind, though the least and most inconvenient body that lived,) charged in the head of a troop of gentlemen, who came out of the town with him, with as much gallantry and courage as men could do. But it was so late in the evening before the battle begun, that the night quickly fell upon them; and the generals returned into the town, not enough knowing their own loss, and performed[h] very few compliments to each other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole country, (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good army together,) by prince Rupert's hasty departure with all his troops, and the marquis of Newcastle's as hasty departure to the sea-side, and taking ship, and transporting himself out of the kingdom,

[f] charged] charged those on that side

[g] and] so that

[h] performed] performing

and all the ill consequences thereupon, give so ill an account of any conduct,[i] or discretion, in the managery of that affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in writing[k] of it, so posterity would receive little pleasure, or benefit, in the most particular relation of it.[l] 1644.

This may be said of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great generals, whereof one had still a good army left, his horse, by their not having performed their duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his foot having retired into the town, the great execution having fallen upon the northern foot; and the other, having the absolute commission over the northern counties, and very many considerable places in them still remaining under his obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that good city, and the whole country, as a prey to the enemy; who had not yet the courage to believe that they had the victory; the Scots having been so totally routed, (as hath been said before,) their general made prisoner by a constable, and detained in custody, till most part of the next day was passed; and most of the officers, and army, having marched, or run above ten miles northward, before they had news that they might securely return: and though the horse under Fairfax and Cromwell had won the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best officers killed, or so

[i] conduct,] *MS. adds:* courage,

[k] writing] the draft

[l] relation of it.] *MS. B. adds:* This fatal blow, which so much changed the king's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his majesty, but that it made him pursue his former resolution to follow the earl of Essex with the more impatience, having now in truth nothing else to do.

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maimed that they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt: so that if there had been any agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good degree, (for the enemy was not possessed of the field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the horse, which had done so little, might do the next day,) there might probably many advantages have appeared, which were not at the instant in view; however, they might both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably.

But neither of them were friends to such deliberation; but, as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, they both sent a messenger to each other, almost at the same time; the one, "that he "was resolved, that morning, to march away with "his horse, and as many foot as he had left;" and the other, "that he would, in that instant, repair to "the sea-side, and transport himself beyond the "seas;" both which they immediately performed; the marquis making haste to Scarborough, there embarked in a poor vessel, and arrived at Hamburgh: the prince, with his army, begun his march the same morning towards Chester. And so York was left to the discretion of sir Thomas Glemham, the governor thereof, to do with it as he thought fit; being in a condition only to deliver it up with more decency, not to defend it against an enemy that would require it.

Whereas, if prince Rupert had stayed with the army he marched away with, at any reasonable distance, it would have been long before the jealousies and breaches, which were between the English and Scotch armies, would have been enough composed to

have agreed upon the renewing the siege; such great quantities of provision being already brought into the town: and the Scots talked of nothing but returning into their own country, where the marquis of Mountrose had kindled already a fire, which the parliament of Edinburgh could not quench. But the certain intelligence, "that the prince was marched "away without thought of returning, and that the "marquis had embarked himself," reconciled them so far, (and nothing else could,) that, after two days, they returned to the posts they had before had in the siege; and so straitened the town, that the governor, when he had no hope of relief, within a fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good articles for the town, and the gentry that were in it, and for himself, and the few soldiers he had left, as he could propose: and so he marched with all his troops to Carlisle; which he afterwards defended with very remarkable circumstances of courage, industry, and patience.

York delivered to the parliament forces.

The times afterwards grew so bad, and the king's affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no opportunity to call either of those two great persons to account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular relation of the grounds of their proceeding, or the causes of their misadventures, by way of excuse to the king, or for their own vindication. Prince Rupert, only to his friends, and after the murder of the king, produced a letter in the king's own hand, which he received when he was upon his march from Lancashire towards York; in which his majesty said, "that his affairs were in so very ill "a state, that it would not be enough, though his

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" highness raised the siege from York, if he had not " likewise beaten the Scotch army;" which he understood " to amount to no less than a peremptory " order to fight, upon what disadvantage soever:" and added, " that the disadvantage was so great, the " enemy being so much superior in number, it was " no wonder he lost the day." But as the king's letter would not bear that sense, so the greatest cause of the misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the battle, as soon as the enemy drew off; and without consulting at all with the marquis of Newcastle, and his officers; who must needs know more of the enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his highness could do. For he saw not the marquis, till, upon his summons, he came into the field, in the head of a troop of gentlemen, as a private captain, when the battle was ranged; and which, after a very short salutation, immediately begun; those of the marquis's army, who came out of the town, being placed upon the ground left by the prince, and assigned to them; which much indisposed both officers and soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to join in it.

Then it was too late in the day to begin the fight, if all the other ill circumstances had been away; for it was past three in the afternoon: whereas, if it had been deferred till next morning, in which time a full consultation might have been had, and the officers and soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected; nor would the confusion and consternation the other armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present engagement, have been the less; but, on the contrary, very much improved by

the delay; for the bitterness and animosity between the chief commanders was such, that a great part of the army was marched six miles, when it appeared, by the prince's manner of drawing his army together to that ground, that his resolution was to fight: the speedy intelligence whereof prevailed, and nothing else could, with those who were gone so far, to return; and with the rest, to unite and concur in an action, that, in human reason, could only preserve them; and if that opportunity had not then been so unhappily offered, it was generally believed that the Scots would, the next morning, have continued their march northward; and the earl of Manchester would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into his associated counties; and it would have been in the prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed. 1644.

But then of all the rest, his going away the next morning with all his troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable; because most prejudicial, and most ruinous to the king's affairs in those parts. Nor did those troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the king's service, but mouldered away by degrees, and the officers, whereof many were gentlemen of quality and great merit, were killed upon beating up of quarters, and little actions not worth their presence. The truth is, the prince had some secret intimation of the marquis's purpose of immediately leaving the town, and embarking himself for the parts beyond the seas, before the marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the command of all those parts, and thereby an obliga-

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tion not to desert his charge, might be without any imagination that the prince would take such a distracted government upon him, and leave him any excuse for his departure: and if in this joint distemper, with which they were both transported, any persons of discretion and honour had interposed, they might, in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good understanding between them, or at least for the suspension of their present resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolved so soon, and so soon executed what they resolved, that very few had the least suspicion of their intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their conversion attempted.

All that can be said for the marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a condition and employment so contrary to his humour, nature, and education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune, but honour and ambition to serve the king when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and

by him. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both; without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace.

He had a particular reverence for the person of the king, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the prince, as he had had the honour to be trusted with his education as his governor; for which office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other qualifications. Though he had retired from his great trust, and from the court, to decline the insupportable envy which the powerful faction had contracted against him, yet the king was no sooner necessitated to possess himself of some place of strength, and to raise some force for his defence, but the earl of Newcastle (he was made marquis afterwards) obeyed his first call; and, with great expedition and dexterity, seized upon that town; when till then there was not one port town in England that avowed their obedience to the king: and he then presently raised such regiments of horse and foot, as were necessary for the present state of affairs; all which was done purely by his own interest, and the concurrence of his numerous allies in those northern parts; who with all alacrity obeyed his commands, without any charge to the king; which he was not able to supply.

And after the battle of Edge-hill, when the rebels

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grew so strong in Yorkshire, by the influence their garrison of Hull had upon both the East and West Riding there, that it behoved the king presently to make a general, who might unite all those northern counties in his service, he could not choose any man so fit for it, as the earl of Newcastle, who was not only possessed of a present force, and of that important town, but had a greater reputation and interest in Yorkshire itself, than, at that present, any other man had: the earl of Cumberland being at that time, though of entire affection to the king, much decayed in the vigour of his body and his mind, and unfit for that activity which the season required. And it cannot be denied, that the earl of Newcastle, by his quick march with his troops, as soon as he had received his commission to be general, and in the depth of winter, redeemed, or rescued the city of York from the rebels, when they looked upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was master of it, he raised men apace, and drew an army together, with which he fought many battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) success and victory.

He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a general well, and preserved the dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward state, and circumstances of it, in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a war, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to men of all conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a general, he did not in any degree understand, (being utterly unacquainted with war,) nor could submit to; but referred all matters of that nature to

the discretion of his lieutenant general King; who, no doubt, was an officer of great experience and ability, yet, being a Scotchman, was in that conjuncture upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the general himself had been more intent upon his command. In all actions of the field he was still present, and never absent in any battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible courage and fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the day, when his troops begun to give ground. Such articles of action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied admission to the chiefest officers of the army, even to general King himself, for two days together; from whence many inconveniences fell out. 1644.

From the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the privy-council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other soldiers' mind, that all the business ought to be done by councils of war, and was always angry when there were any overtures of a treaty; and therefore, especially after the queen had landed in Yorkshire, and stayed so long there, he considered any orders he received from Oxford, though from the king himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of Hull, and was sure that he should be then master entirely of all the north, he had no mind to march nearer the king, (as he had then orders to march

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into the associated counties, when, upon the taking of Bristol, his majesty had a purpose to have marched towards London on the other side,) out of apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the court, and his authority overshadowed by the superiority of prince Rupert; from whom he desired to be at distance: yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his army within the walls of York, and saw no way to be relieved but by prince Rupert, who had then done great feats of arms in the relief of Newark, and afterwards in his expedition into Lancashire, where he was at that time, he writ to the king to Oxford, either upon the knowledge that the absoluteness and illimitedness of his commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose; which might have been reported; "that he hoped his majesty did believe, "that he would never make the least scruple to "obey the grandchild of king James:" and assuredly, if the prince had cultivated the good inclinations the marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious condescensions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his service and interest.

But the strange manner of the prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the king's hopes, into that sudden and unnecessary engagement, by which all the force the marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserved, was in a moment cast away and destroyed, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of life, from which he might now be

free. He hoped his past meritorious actions might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the kingdom, and took with him general King; upon whom they, who were content to spare the marquis, poured out all the reproaches of "infidelity, treason, "and conjunction with his countrymen;" which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal discontent, and the miserable condition to which the people of those northern parts were on the sudden reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole course of his life, been generally reputed a man of honour, and had exercised the highest commands under the king of Sweden with extraordinary ability and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his countrymen with the highest malice, from his very coming into the king's service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the kingdom, even to his death.

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The loss of England came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of York, or the too soon deserting the northern parts, were comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the marquis in the change of his fortune, and his cheerful submission to all the straits, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from banishment, without the least application to the usurpers, who were possessed of his whole estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable waste, in destroying all his woods of very great value, and who were still equally abhorred and despised by him; with his readiness and alacrity again to have

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embarked himself in the king's quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good men to him, that they rather observed what he had done and suffered for the king and for his country, without farther inquiring what he had omitted to do, or been overseen in doing.

This fatal blow, which so much changed the king's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his majesty, but that it made him pursue his former resolution, to follow the earl of Essex, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being informed that the earl[m] had not made any long marches, and that the queen, upon the first news of the earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight delivered, had left Exeter, and was removed into Cornwall, from whence, in a short time, she[n] embarked for France, (the prince of Orange having sent some Dutch ships of war to attend her[o] commands in the harbour of Falmouth; and from thence her majesty transported herself,) his majesty marched more slowly, that he might increase his army from Bristol, and other places; making[p] no doubt, but that he should engage[q] the army of the earl of Essex, who was already near Exeter, before he should be able to return to London.[r]

The queen retires into France.

[m] earl] earl of Essex
[n] she] her majesty
[o] her] the queen's
[p] making] and making
[q] engage] be able to engage
[r] to London.] *MS. adds:* and prince Maurice, who had waited near two years without taking Lyme or Plymouth, the former of which was a little vile fishing town, defended by a small dry ditch, was already withdrawn into Cornwall, having lost much reputation in those parts by his unsuccessful attempts.

The earl of Essex's good fortune now begun[s] to decline: he[t] had not proceeded with his accustomed wariness and skill, but run into labyrinths, from whence he could not disentangle himself. When he had marched to the length of Exeter, which he had some thought of besieging, without any imagination that he could find an enemy to contend with him, having left the king in so ill a condition, and sir William Waller with so good an army waiting upon him, he had[u] the news of the "disappointment[x] sir "William Waller had[y] received; and that the king "was come with his whole army into the west in "pursuit of him, without being followed by Waller, "or any troops to disquiet or retard his march;" which exceedingly surprised him, and made him suspect that the parliament itself had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

The[z] jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them; the parliament looking upon his march into the west, and leaving Waller, to whom they intended the other province, to follow the king, but as a declaration that he would no more fight against the person of the king; and the earl, on the other side, had well observed the difference betwixt the care and affection the parliament expressed for and towards his army, and the other under the command of the earl of Manchester; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of his. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that, upon so little a brush as Waller had sustained, he

[s] begun] began
[t] he] and he
[u] he had] he received
[x] disappointment] defeat
[y] had] *Not in MS.*
[z] The] And the

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could not be able to follow and disturb the king, in a country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected strait, upon the first reception of the news, he resolved to return back, and meet and fight with the king, either before he entered Devonshire, or else in Somersetshire; in either of which places he could not be straitened in room, or provisions, or be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this resolution, he had done prudently. But the lord Roberts, who was a general officer in his army, of an insociable[a] nature, and impetuous disposition, full of contradiction in his temper, and of parts so much superior to any in the company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively opposed the return of the army; but pressed, with his confidence, "that the "army should continue its march to Cornwall;" where he undertook to have so great interest, that he made no question, "but the presence of the earl "of Essex, with his army, would so unite that "county[b] to the parliament's service, that it would "be easy to defend the passes into the whole county "(which are not many) in such a manner, that the "king's army should never be able to enter into "Cornwall, nor to retire out of Devonshire without "great loss, nor before the parliament would send "more forces upon their backs."

The lord Roberts, though inferior in the army, had much greater credit in the parliament than the earl of Essex; and the earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction

[a] insociable] unsociable

[b] county] whole county

with sir Harry Vane, whom of all men the earl hated, and looked upon as an enemy. He had never been in Cornwall; so he[c] knew not the situation of the country: some[d] of the officers, and some[e] others of that country, (as there were with him four or five gentlemen of that country of interest,) concurred fully with the lord Roberts, and promised great matters, if the army marched thither: whereupon the earl departed from his own understanding, and complied with their advice; and so marched the direct way with all his army, horse, foot, and cannon, into that narrow county; and pursued prince Maurice and those forces, which easily retired, westward; until he found himself in straits; where we shall leave him for the present.

The earl of Essex marches into Cornwall.

After the king had made a small stay at Exeter, where he found his young daughter, of whom the queen had been so lately delivered, under the care and government of the lady Dalkeith, (shortly after countess of Morton by the death of her husband's father,) who had been long before designed by both their majesties to that charge; and having a little refreshed and accommodated his troops, he marched directly to Cornwall; where he found the earl of Essex in such a part of the country on the sea-side, that he quickly, by the general conflux and concourse[f] of the whole people, upon which the earl had been persuaded so much to depend, found means, with very little fighting, so to straiten his quarters, that there seemed little appearance that he could possibly march away with his army, or compel the king to fight. He was, upon the mat-

The king follows him thither.

[c] so he] and so
[d] some] and some
[e] some] many
[f] concourse] concurrence

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ter, enclosed in and about Foy; whilst the king lay encamped about Liskard; and no day passed without some skirmishes; in which the earl was more distressed, and many of his principal[g] officers taken prisoners. Here[h] there happened an accident, that might very well have turned the king's fortune, and deprived him of all the advantages which were then[i] in view. The king being always in the army himself, all matters were still debated before him, in the presence of those counsellors who were about him; who, being men of better understandings and better expressions than the officers[k], commonly disposed his majesty to their opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every thing which was proposed by the officers. The counsellors, as hath been said before, were the lord Digby, secretary of state, and sir John Colepepper, master of the rolls, of whose judgment the king had more esteem, even with reference to the war, than of most of the officers of the army; which raised an implacable animosity in the whole army against them.

General Ruthen, who by this time was created earl of Brentford, was general of the army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his age, and his extreme deafness, was not a man of counsel or words; hardly conceived what was proposed, and as confusedly and obscurely delivered his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his eye than his ear; and in the field well knew what was to be done. Wilmot was lieutenant general of the horse, and at this time the second officer of the army, and had

[g] principal] considerable
[h] Here] And here
[i] then] *Not in MS.*
[k] than the officers] *Not in MS.*

much more credit and authority in it, than any man; which he had not employed to the king's advantage, as his majesty believed. He was a man proud and ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary officer in marches, and governing his troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great people. He had a more companionable wit even than his rival Goring, and swayed more among the good fellows,[1] and could by no means endure that the lord Digby and sir John Colepepper should have so much credit with the king in councils of war.

The king had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembering the part he had acted against the earl of Strafford: however, he had been induced, upon the accidents which happened afterwards, to repose trust in him. This Wilmot knew[m] well enough; and foresaw, that he should be quickly overshadowed in the war; and therefore desired to get out of it, by a seasonable peace; and so, in all his discourses, urged the necessity of it, as he had begun in Buckinghamshire; and, "that the king "ought to send propositions to the parliament, in "order to obtaining it;" and in this march had prosecuted his former design by several cabals[n] among the officers; and disposed them to petition the king,

[1] good fellows,] *MS. adds:* from the time of prince Rupert's departure, with whom he could have no contest, he carried himself imperiously in all debates,

[m] This Wilmot knew] And this he knew

[n] and in this march had prosecuted his former design by several cabals] *Thus originally in MS.:* and during that time that the king marched out of Oxford to avoid being besieged, when both Essex and Waller encompassed the town, and afterwards when the king turned upon Waller, and defeated and pursued him, Wilmot had made several cabals

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" to send to the parliament again an offer of peace; " and that the lord Digby and sir John Colepepper " might not be permitted to be present in councils " of war;" implying, " that if this might not be " granted, they would think of some other way." Which petition, though, by the wisdom of some officers, it was kept from being delivered, yet so provoked the king, that he resolved to take the first opportunity to free himself from his impetuous humour; in which good disposition the lord Digby ceased not to confirm his majesty; and as soon as the news came of the northern defeat, and that the marquis of Newcastle had left the kingdom, he prevailed that Goring might be sent for to attend his majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his nephew prince Rupert general of the army, and Goring general of the horse; which Wilmot could not avowedly have excepted against, the other having been always superior to him in command; and yet would be such a mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digest.

Whether his apprehensions of this, as his jealous nature had much of sagacity in it, or his restless and mutinous humour, transported him, but he gave not the king time to prosecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and a rougher remedy: for during the whole march, he discoursed in all places, " that the king must send to the earl of " Essex to invite him to a conjunction with him, " that so the parliament might be obliged to consent " to a peace; and pretended, that he had so good " intelligence in that army, as to know that such an " invitation would prove effectual, and be acceptable " to the earl; who, he knew, was unsatisfied with

"the parliament's behaviour towards him:" and he was so indiscreet, as to desire a gentleman, with whom he had no intimacy, and who had a pass to go beyond the seas, and must go through the earl's quarters, "that he would remember his service to "the earl of Essex; and assure him, that the army "so much desired peace, that it should not be in the "power of any of those persons about the king to "hinder it, if his lordship would treat upon any "reasonable propositions." All which kind of carriage and discourses were quickly represented, in their full magnitude, to the king, by the lord Digby; and his majesty's own aversion kindled any spark into a formed distrust. So that after the king came into Cornwall, and had his whole army drawn up on the top of the hill, in view of the earl of Essex, who was in the bottom, and a battle expected every day, upon some new discourse Wilmot made out of pride and vanity, (for there was not, in all the former, the least formed act of sedition in his heart,) the knight marshal, with the assistance of Tom Elliot[o], arrested him in the king's name of high treason; and dismounted him from his horse in the head of all the troops; putting[p] a guard upon him. He was presently sent prisoner to Exeter, without any other ill effect, which might very reasonably have been apprehended in such a conjuncture, when he was indeed generally well beloved, and none of them for whose sakes he was thought to be sacrificed, were at all esteemed: yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vanished away.[q]

[o] Tom Elliot,] *MS. adds:* who acted the part,

[p] putting] and putting

[q] vanished away.] vapoured

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The same day that Wilmot was arrested, the king

1644. away. *And continued thus:* It is possible this execution was the sooner done, upon the news that Goring was upon the way; for within two or three days after, he arrived, and the command of the horse was commanded to him. There was another reformation likewise made at the same time, by the removal of the lord Percy (who had led the van in that creation of peers which had been made at Oxford) from the office of general of the ordnance, which had been without much deliberation conferred upon him a little before; which was very reasonably bestowed upon the lord Hopton, whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other generally beloved.

When the king found himself upon the advantage ground, and that the earl of Essex would in a short time be reduced into great straits, or must fight upon notable disadvantage, his majesty was not without apprehension that he might quickly find the sad effects of the northern victory, by some new army being sent into the west; and Waller with some troops was ready to come out of London; and therefore infinitely desired to work upon the earl, and made some overture to him; which he received no otherwise than with saying, that he had no authority to treat, but would inform the parliament of what had been proposed: upon which all other thoughts were given over but those of fighting. The earl clearly discerned that he could not undertake that engagement with any reasonable hope of success: his army was in distress of all things, which would quickly increase by the manifest aversion the whole country seemed to have, so that they could get no provisions from it; and a party was no sooner sent out upon any occasion, than the king's forces had notice of it from the people; so that they were usually killed or taken prisoners. In the end, the earl found it necessary to send all his horse away in the night, with hope they might make their way through, and then to put himself and some officers on board some vessel which might land them at Plymouth, where there were, or would quickly be, ships to waft them to London; and then that the foot might make the best condition they could. This consultation was not so secret but that the king had seasonable notice of it, and had as carefully transmitted it to Goring, who lay then quartered at Liskeard, and had, or might have had, all his horse in such a readiness, and caused the narrow lanes to have been so barricadoed and stopped, that it could not have been possible that any number of them could have escaped. But the notice and orders came when he was in one of his usual debauches, which he could in no case master or moderate, but used to entertain them with mirth, and slighting those who sent them as men who took alarums too warmly: and so he continued

removed another general officer of his army, the lord Percy; who had been made general of the ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated considerations; and put into that office the lord Hopton; whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other being universally beloved. Besides, the lord Percy (who was the first that had been created a baron at Oxford upon the queen's intercession; which obliged the king to be-

his delight, till all the body of the enemy's horse under Balfour were passed through his quarters, nor did then pursue them in any time; so that all but such as by the tiring of their horse were forced to stay behind, and so became prisoners, made a secure retreat to London, to the infinite reproach of the king's army and all the garrison in the way. Nor was any body punished or called in question for the supine neglect; and the superior officer being inexcusable, prevented any severe inquisition into the rest. The horse being thus gone, and the earl of Essex embarked, the foot, being a body of near six thousand, under the command of their major general Skippon, who was a good and a punctual officer, he sent to the king's general, the earl of Brentford, to treat and to offer conditions. It was wondered at by many that the king would then grant them any conditions, and not rather compel them to become prisoners of war; but they who took upon them to be most censorious in that point did not know the true state of the king's army, which was in itself very small, inferior to the number of the enemy, poor and naked, and not contented; the country which had come in, and made the show with the trained bands, were weary, and many were already gone to their harvest, which called for the rest. So that the king was contented that, delivering up their arms and cannon and ammunition, they should have liberty to return by slow marches to London, with so much baggage as they carried upon their backs; for preservation whereof they had a guard of horse to conduct them to a place appointed. And upon those terms and in this manner the remainder of that army returned alive to London; where they found their general arrived before them; who had only visited Plymouth for two or three days, whither he had before sent as many soldiers as the place required, and gave such directions as he thought fit for the defence of it: and so in a ship of the royal navy, which attended his commands, he was safely delivered at London; and was there received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him.

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stow the same honour on more men) had been as much inclined to mutiny as the lord Wilmot; and was much a bolder speaker, and had none of those faculties, which the other had, of reconciling men to him. Yet even his removal added to the ill humour of the army, too much disposed to discontent, and censuring all that was done: for though he was generally unloved, as a proud and supercilious person, yet he had always three or four persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteemed by him, with whom he lived very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him, by drinking, yet he eat well; which, in the general scarcity of that time, drew many votaries to him; who bore very ill the want of his table, and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on his behalf.

The very next day after these removals, colonel Goring appeared; who had waited upon the king the night before at his quarters, with letters from prince Rupert: and then the army being drawn up, his majesty, attended by the principal officers of the army, rode to every division of the horse, and there declared, "that, at the request of his nephew prince "Rupert, and upon his resignation, he made Mr. "Goring general of the horse; and commanded them "all to obey him; and for the lord Wilmot, although "he had, for very good reasons, justly restrained him "for the present, yet he had not taken away from "him his command in the army;" which declaration visibly raised the countenance of the body of horse, more than the king was pleased with observing: and the very next day the greatest part of the officers delivered a petition, "that his majesty would give "them so much light of the lord Wilmot's crimes,

"that they might see that themselves were not sus-
"pected, who had so long obeyed and executed his
"orders;" which is manifestation enough of the ill disposition the army was in, when they were even in view of the enemy, and of which the king had so much apprehension, in respect of the present posture he was in, that he was too easily persuaded to give them a draught of the articles, by which he was charged: which though they contained so many indiscretions, vanities, and insolencies, that wise and dispassionate men thought he had been proceeded with very justly, yet generally they seemed not to make him so very black, as he had been represented to be; and when the articles were sent to him, he returned so specious an answer to them, that made many men think he had been prosecuted with severity enough. Yet Wilmot himself, when he saw his old mortal enemy Goring put in the command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full vindication; and therefore desired leave to retire into France; and had presently a pass sent him to that purpose; of which he made use as soon as he received it; and so transported himself out of the kingdom; which opened the mouths of many, and made it believed, that he had been sacrificed to some faction and intrigue of the court, without any such misdemeanour as deserved it.

The king had, some days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial whether the earl of Essex, from the notorious indignities which he received from the parliament, and which were visible to all the world, or from the present ill condition which he and his army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his majesty. The lord

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Beauchamp, eldest son to the marquis of Hertford, desired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport himself into France; and to that purpose had a pass from his uncle, the earl of Essex, for himself; monsieur Richaute a Frenchman, who had been his governor; and two servants, to embark at Plymouth; and being now with the king, it was necessary to pass through the earl's quarters. By him the king vouchsafed to write a letter with his own hand to the earl, in which he told him,

"How much it was in his power to restore that "peace to the kingdom, which he had professed "always to desire; and upon such conditions, as did "fully comply with all those ends for which the "parliament had first taken up arms: for his ma-"jesty was still ready to satisfy all those ends: but "that since the invasion of the kingdom by the "Scots, all his overtures of peace had been rejected; "which must prove the destruction of the kingdom, "if he did not, with his authority and power, dis-"pose those at Westminster to accept of a peace "that might preserve it;" with all those arguments, that might most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense he would always retain of the service and merit, as were most likely to invite him to it. The king desired, that a pass might be procured for Mr. Harding, one of the grooms of the bedchamber to the prince, a gentleman who had been before of much conversation with the earl, and much loved by him; and the procuring this pass was recommended to monsieur Richaute.

The earl received his nephew very kindly; who delivered the king's letter to him, which he received

and read; and being then told by the lord Beauchamp, that monsieur Richaute, who was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the king; the earl called him into his chamber, in the presence only of the lord Beauchamp, and asked him, "if he had any thing to say to him." Richaute told him, "that his principal business was to desire his "permission and pass, that Mr. Harding might come "to him, who had many things to offer, which, he "presumed, would not be unacceptable to him." The earl answered in short, "that he would not "permit Mr. Harding to come to him, nor would he "have any treaty with the king, having received no "warrant for it from the parliament:" upon which, Richaute enlarged himself upon some particulars, which Mr. Harding was to have urged, "of the king's de-"sire of peace, of the concurrence of all the lords, as "well those at Oxford, as in the army, in the same "desire of preserving the kingdom from a conquest "by the Scots;" and other discourse to that purpose; "and of the king's readiness to give him any "security for the performance of all he had pro-"mised." To all which the earl answered sullenly, "that, according to the commission he had received, "he would defend the king's person and posterity; "and that the best counsel he could give him was, "to go to his parliament." 1644.

As soon as the king received this account of his letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those addresses, he resolved to push it on the other way, and to fight with the enemy as soon as was possible; and so, the next day, drew up all his army in sight of the enemy; and had many skirmishes between the horse of both armies, till the enemy quitted that

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part of a large heath upon which they stood, and retired to a hill near the park of the lord Mohun, at Boconnocke; they having the possession of his house, where they quartered conveniently. That night both armies, after they had well viewed each other, lay in the field; and many are of opinion, that if the king had that day vigorously advanced upon the enemy, to which his army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated: for the king's army was in good heart, and willing to engage; on the contrary, the earl's seemed much surprised, and in confusion, to see the other army so near them. But such censures always attend such conjunctures, and find fault for what is not done, as well as with that which is done.

The next morning the king called a council, to consider whether they should that day compel the enemy to fight; which was concluded not to be reasonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of sir Richard Greenvil; who was yet in the west of Cornwall, and had a body of eight thousand horse and foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon ordered, that all the foot should be presently drawn into the enclosures between Boconnocke and the heath; all the fences to the grounds of that country being very good breastworks against the enemy. The king's head quarter was made at the lord Mohun's house, which the earl of Essex had kindly quitted, when the king's army advanced the day before. The horse were quartered, for the most part, between Liskeard and the sea; and every day compelled the earl's forces to retire, and to lodge close together;

and in this posture both armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient spirit, that had possessed so many of the horse officers, appeared again; and some of them, who had conferred with the prisoners, who were every day taken, and some of them officers of as good quality as any they had, were persuaded by them, "that all the obstinacy in Essex, in refusing "to treat with the king, proceeded only from his "jealousy that when the king had got him into his "hands, he would take revenge upon him for all "the mischief he had sustained by him; and that "if he had any assurance that what was promised "would be complied with, he would be quickly in-"duced to treat."

Upon this excellent evidence, these politic contrivers presumed to prepare a letter, that should be subscribed by the general, and all the superior officers of the army; the beginning of which letter was, "that they had obtained leave of the king to "send that letter to him." There they proposed, "that he with six officers, whom he should choose, "would the next morning meet with their general, "and six other officers, as should be appointed to "attend him; and if he would not himself be pre-"sent, that then six officers of the king's army "should meet with six such as he should appoint, "at any place that should be thought fit; and that "they, and every of them, who subscribed the let-"ter, would, upon the honour and reputation of "gentlemen and soldiers, with their lives maintain "that whatsoever his majesty should promise, should "be performed; and that it should not be in the "power of any private person whatsoever, to inter-

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"rupt or hinder the execution thereof." When they had framed this letter between themselves, and shewed it to many others, whose approbation they received, they resolved to present it to the king, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the earl of Essex.

How unpardonable soever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this letter was, and how penal soever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his majesty, many who liked not the manner of it, were persuaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the king to consent that the officers should sign it; and that the general should send a trumpet with it; his majesty at the same time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own letter had done; and likewise believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly spirit out of his army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious addresses, and that it might add some spirit and animosity to the officers and soldiers, when they should see, with how much neglect and contempt the earl received their application: and so prince Maurice, general Goring, and all the superior officers of the army, signed the letter; which a trumpet delivered to the earl of Essex; who, the next day, returned his answer to them in these words: "My lords, in the beginning "of your letter you express by what authority you "send it; I having no authority from the parlia- "ment, who have employed me, to treat, cannot "give way to it without breach of trust. My lords, "I am your humble servant, Essex. Listithiel, Aug.

"10, 1644." This short surly answer produced the effect the king wished and expected; they who had been so over-active in contriving the address, were most ashamed of their folly; and the whole army seemed well composed to obtain that by their swords, which they could not by their pen.

Sir Richard Greenvil was now come up to the post where he should be; and, at Bodmin, in his march, had fallen upon a party of the earl's horse, and killed many, and taken others prisoners, and presented himself to the king at Boconnocke; giving his majesty an account of his proceedings, and a particular of his forces; which, after all the high discourses, amounted really but to eighteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse; above one hundred of which were of the queen's troop, (left behind when her majesty embarked for France,) under the command of captain Edward Bret; who had done very good service in the western parts of that county, from the time of the queen's departure, and much confirmed the trained bands of those parts. This troop was presently added to the king's guards under the lord Bernard Stewart, and captain Bret was made major of that regiment.

Though the earl of Essex had but strait and narrow room for his quarters for so great an army of horse and foot, yet he had the good town of Foy and the sea to friend; by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of provisions, the parliament ships having all the jurisdiction there; and so, if he preserved his post, which was so situated that he could not be compelled to fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude, that Waller, or some other force sent from the parlia-

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ment, would be shortly upon the king's back, as his majesty was upon his: and no question, this rational confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all overtures made to him by the king; besides the punctuality and stubbornness of his own nature; which whosoever was well acquainted with, might easily have foreseen, what effect all those applications would have produced. It was therefore now resolved to make his quarters yet straiter, and to cut off even his provisions by sea, or a good part thereof. To which purpose sir Richard Greenvil drew his men from Bodmin, and possessed himself of Lanhetherick, a strong house of the lord Roberts, two miles west of Boconnocke, and over the river that runs to Listithiel, and thence to Foy, and likewise to Reprime Bridge; by which the enemy was not only deprived of that useful outlet, but a safe communication made between him and the king's army, which was before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more importance, sir Jacob Ashley, with a good party of horse and foot, made himself master of View-Hall, another house of the lord Mohun's, over against Foy, and of Pernon Fort, a mile below it, at the mouth of the haven; both which places he found so tenable, that he put captain Page into one, and captain Garraway into the other, with two hundred commanded men, and two or three pieces of ordnance; which these two captains made good, and defended so well, that they made Foy utterly useless to Essex, save for the quartering his men; not suffering any provisions to be brought in to him from the sea that way. And it was exceedingly wondered at by all men, that he, being so long possessed of Foy, did not put strong

guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his army's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into; which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented. 1644.

Now the king had leisure to sit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his army, or to make his own escape. In this posture both armies lay still, without any notable action, for the space of eight or ten days; when the king, seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolved to draw his whole army together, and to make his own quarters yet much nearer, and either to force Essex to fight, or to be uneasy even in his quarters. And it was high time to do so: for it was now certain, that either Waller himself, or some other forces, were already upon their march towards the west. With this resolution the whole army advanced in such a manner, that the enemy was compelled still to retire before them, and to quit their quarters; and, among the rest, a rising ground called Beacon-Hill; which they no sooner quitted, than the king possessed; and immediately caused a square work to be there raised, and a battery made, upon which some pieces of cannon were planted, that shot into their quarters, and did them great hurt; when their cannon, though they returned twenty shot for one, did very little or no harm.

And now the king's forces had a full prospect over all the other's quarters; saw how all their foot and horse were disposed, and from whence they received all their forage and provisions: which when

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clearly viewed and observed, Goring was sent with the greatest part of the horse, and fifteen hundred foot, a little westward to St. Blase, to drive the enemy yet closer together, and to cut off the provisions they received from thence; which was so well executed, that they did not only possess themselves of St. Austel, and the westerly part of St. Blase, (so that the enemy's horse was reduced to that small extent of earth that is between the river of Foy and that at Blase, which is not above two miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the most part fed since they came to Listithiel, and therefore it could not now long supply them,) but likewise were masters of the Parr near St. Blase; whereby they deprived them of the chief place of landing the provisions which came by sea. And now the earl begun to be very sensible of the ill condition he was in, and discerned that he should not be able long to remain in that posture; besides, he had received advertisement that the party which was sent for his relief from London, had received some brush in Somersetshire, which would much retard their march; and therefore it behoved him to enter upon new counsels, and to take new resolutions.

It is very true the defeat at Cropredy (in which there did not appear to be one thousand men killed, or taken prisoners) had so totally broken Waller's army, that it could never be brought to fight after: but when he had marched at a distance from the king, to recover the broken spirits of his men, and heard that his majesty was marched directly towards the west, observing likewise that every night very many of his men run from him, he thought it

necessary to go himself to London, where he made grievous complaints against the earl of Essex, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearkened to, and his person received, and treated, as if he had returned victorious after having defeated the king's army: which was a method very contrary to what was used in the king's quarters, where all accidental misfortunes, how inevitable soever, were still attended with very apparent discountenance.

But when he went himself to London, or presently upon it, he sent his lieutenant general Middleton (a person of whom we shall say much hereafter, and who lived to wipe out the memory of the ill footsteps of his youth; for he was but eighteen years of age when he was first led into rebellion) with a body of three thousand horse and dragoons, to follow the king into the west, and to wait upon his rear, with orders to reduce in his way Donnington-castle, the house of a private gentleman near Newbury, in which there were a company or two of foot of the king's; and which they believed would be delivered up as soon as demanded; being a place, as they thought, of little strength. But Middleton found it so well defended by colonel Bois, who was governor of it, that, after he had lost at least three hundred officers and soldiers in attempting to take it, he was compelled to recommend it to the governor of Abingdon, to send an officer and some troops to block it up from infesting that great road into the west; and himself prosecuted his march to follow the king.

In Somersetshire, he heard of great magazines of all provisions, made for the supply of the king's

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army, which were sent every day by strong convoys to Exeter, there to wait farther orders. To surprise these provisions he sent major Carr, with five hundred horse; who fell into the village where the convoy was, and was very like to have mastered them, when sir Francis Doddington, with a troop of horse, and some foot from Bridgewater, came seasonably to their relief; and after a very sharp conflict, in which two or three good officers of the king's were killed, and among them major Killigrew, a very hopeful young man, the son of a gallant and most deserving father, he totally routed the enemy; killed thirty or forty upon the place; and had the pursuit of them two or three miles; in which major Carr, who commanded the party, and many other officers, were taken; and many others desperately wounded; and recovered all that they had taken: which sharp encounters, where always many more men are lost, than are killed, or taken prisoners, put such a stop to Middleton's march, that he was glad to retire back to Sherborne, that he might refresh the weariness, and recover the spirits of his men. This was the defeat, or obstruction, which the earl of Essex had intelligence that the forces had met with coming to his relief; and which made him despair of any succour that way.

When the earl found himself in this condition, and that, within very few days, he must be without any provisions for his army; he resolved, that sir William Balfour should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole body of horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would embark his foot at Foy, and with them escape by sea. And two foot soldiers of the army, whereof

one was a Frenchman, came over from them, and assured the king, "that they intended, that night, "to break through with their horse, which were all "then drawn on that side the river, and town of "Listithiel; and that the foot were to march to "Foy, where they should be embarked." This intelligence agreed with what they otherwise received, and was believed as it ought to be; and thereupon order was given, "that both armies" (for that under prince Maurice was looked upon as distinct, and always so quartered) "should stand to "their arms all that night; and if the horse at- "tempted an escape, fall on them from both quar- "ters;" the passage between them, through which they must go, being but a musket-shot over; and they could not avoid going very near a very little cottage, that was well fortified; in which fifty musketeers were placed. Advertisement was sent to Goring, and all the horse; and the orders renewed, which had formerly been given, for the breaking down the bridges, and cutting down the trees near the highway, to obstruct their passage.

Balfour with the earl of Essex's horse escapes through the king's army.

The effect of all this providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The night grew dark and misty, as the enemy could wish; and about three in the morning, the whole body of the horse passed with great silence between the armies, and within pistol-shot of the cottage, without so much as one musket discharged at them. At the break of day, the horse were discovered marching over the heath, beyond the reach of the foot; and there was only at hand the earl of Cleveland's brigade, the body of the king's horse being at a greater distance. That brigade, to which some other troops which had

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taken the alarm joined, followed them in the rear; and killed some, and took more prisoners: but stronger parties of the enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole body often making a stand, they were often compelled to retire; yet followed in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustained in their whole march. The notice and orders came to Goring, when he was in one of his jovial exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights, till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who, by the tiring of their horses, became prisoners, Balfour continued his march even to London, with less loss or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite reproach of the king's army, and of all his garrisons in the way. Nor was any man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe inquisition into the behaviour of the rest, when it was so notoriously known, how the superior officer had failed in his duty.

The next morning, after the horse were gone, the earl drew all his foot together, and quitted Listithiel, and marched towards Foy; having left order for the breaking down that bridge. But his majesty himself from his new fort discerned it, and sent a company of musketeers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserved the bridge; over which the king presently marched to overtake the rear of the army, which marched so fast, yet in good order, that they left two demi-culverins, and two other very

good guns, and some ammunition, to be disposed of by the king. That day was spent in smart skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the king's horse had been more, whereof he had only two troops of his guards, (which did good service,) it would have proved a bloody day to the enemy. The night coming on, the king lay in the field, his own quarters being so near the enemy, that they discharged many cannon-shot, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at supper. Sunday being the next day, and the first day of September, in the morning, Butler, lieutenant colonel to the earl of Essex, who had been taken prisoner at Boconnocke, and was exchanged for an officer of the king's, came from the earl to desire a parley. As soon as he was sent away, the earl embarked himself, with the lord Roberts, and such other officers as he had most kindness for, in a vessel at Foy; and so escaped into Plymouth; leaving all his army of foot, cannon, and ammunition, to the care of major general Skippon; who was to make as good conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in Plymouth, he went on board a ship of the royal navy, that attended there; and was, within few days, delivered at London; where he was received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him; nor was it less than they could have shewed to him, if he had not only brought back his own army, but the king himself likewise with him.

The earl of Essex leaves his army, and escapes to Plymouth by sea.

The king consented to the parley; upon which a cessation was concluded; and hostages interchangeably delivered; and then the enemy sent propositions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified

Skippon makes conditions for the foot.

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town, after a handsome defence, are usually granted. But they quickly found they were not looked upon as men in that condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their cannon; which, with the four taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of cannon: a hundred barrels of powder, with match and bullets proportionable; and about six thousand arms; which being done, "the officers were to have liberty to wear their "swords, and to pass with their own money, and "proper goods; and, to secure them from plunder, "they were to have a convoy to Poole, or Southamp-"ton; all their sick and wounded might stay in Foy "till they were recovered, and then have passes to "Plymouth."

This agreement was executed accordingly, on Monday the second of September; and though it was near the evening before all was finished, they would march away that night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from violence, yet first at Listithiel, where they had been long quartered, and in other towns through which they had formerly passed, the inhabitants, especially the women, who pretended to see their own clothes and goods about them, which they had been plundered of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the soldiers, and more of their wives, who had before behaved themselves with great insolence in the march. That night there came about one hundred of them to the king's army, and of the six thousand, for so many marched out of Foy, there did not a third part come to Southampton; where the king's convoy left them; to which Skippon gave a large testimony un-

der his hand, "that they had carried themselves "with great civility towards them, and fully com- "plied with their obligation."

Affairs at Oxford during the king's absence.

Whilst the king was in the west, though he had left Oxford in a very ill state in respect of provisions and fortifications, and soldiers, and of the different humours of those who remained there, the town being full of lords, (besides those of the council,) and of persons of the best quality, with very many ladies, who, when not pleased themselves, kept others from being so; yet, in his absence, they who were solicitous to carry on his service, concurred and agreed so well together, that they prevailed with the rest to do every thing that was necessary. They caused provisions of corn to be laid in, in great proportions; assigning the public schools to that purpose; and committing the custody of them to the owners of the corn. They had raised so many volunteers, that their guards were well kept, and there was need they should be so; for when both the parliament armies were before the town, major general Brown, a citizen of London of good reputation, and a stout man, had been left in Abingdon with a strong garrison; from whence, being superior in number,[r] he infested Oxford very much; which gave them the more reason to prosecute the fortifications; which, in the most important places, they brought to a good perfection; and when they had no more apprehension of a siege, Waller being at a distance, and not able to follow the king, and less able to sit down before Oxford, they resolved to do somewhat to be talked of.

[r] number,] power,

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The king had, before his departure, found they were not satisfied with their governor, and very apprehensive of his rudeness, and want of complacency.[s] Upon the death of sir William Penniman, who had been governor of Oxford, to the great satisfaction of all men, being a very brave and generous person, and who performed all manner of civilities to all sorts of people, as having had a good[t] education, and well understanding the manners of the court, (the queen being then in Oxford,) her majesty, who thought herself the safer for being under the charge and care of a Roman catholic, prevailed with the king to confer that charge upon sir Arthur Aston; who had been at Reading, and had the fortune to be very much esteemed, where he was not known; and very much disliked,[u] where he was; and he was by this time too well known at Oxford, to be beloved by any; which the king well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore his majesty had given an extraordinary commission to the lords of his council, to whose authority he was to submit, which obliged him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desired to do; being a man of a rough nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewise some officers of name, who, having then no charge in the army, stayed in the town; and those, by the king's direction, the lords disposed to assist the governor; and particularly, to take care of the several quarters of the town; one whereof was

[s] complacency.] incomplacency.

[t] good] very good

[u] disliked,] detested,

assigned to each of them: among[x] them, colonel Gage was one; who having the English regiment in Flanders, had got leave there to make offer of his service to the king; and to that purpose was newly come from thence to Oxford[y].

He was in truth a very extraordinary man, of a large and very graceful person, of an honourable extraction, his grandfather having been knight of the garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good scholar in the polite parts of learning, a great master in the Spanish and Italian tongues, besides the French and the Dutch, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in England in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in courts; having for many years been much esteemed in that of the archduke and duchess, Albert and Isabella, at Brussels; which was a great and very regular court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a wise and accomplished person. Of this gentleman, the lords of the council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him, whilst they looked to be besieged; and thought Oxford to be the more secure for his being in it; which rendered him so ungrateful to the governor, sir Arthur, that he crossed him in any thing he proposed, and hated him perfectly; as they were of natures, and manners, as different as men can be.

The garrison of Basing-house, the seat of the

[x] among] and amongst

[y] to Oxford] *MS. adds:* and was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, both as a soldier and a wise man; of whom there will be hereafter more occasion to enlarge.

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1644.

Colonel Gage relieves Basing-house.

marquis of Winchester, in which himself was and commanded, had been now straitly besieged, for the space of above three months, by a conjunction of the parliament troops of Hampshire and Sussex, under the command of Norton, Onslow, Jarvis, Whitehead, and Morley, all colonels of regiments, and now united in this service under the command of Norton; a man of spirit, and of the greatest fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the king's march into the west, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the king sent notice to Oxford of his resolution to march into the west, the council humbly desired his majesty, "that he would "make Basing his way, and thereby relieve it," which his majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited Waller the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time, the marquis, by frequent expresses, importuned the lords of the council "to provide, in "some manner, for his relief; and not to suffer his "person, and a place from whence the rebels re-"ceived so much prejudice, to fall into their hands." The lady marchioness, his wife, was then in Oxford; and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her husband; which made every body desire to gratify her, being a lady of great honour and alliance, as sister to the earl of Essex, and to the lady marchioness of Hertford; who was likewise in the town, and engaged her husband to take this business to heart: and all the Roman catholics, who were numerous in the town, looked upon themselves as concerned to contribute all they could to the good work, and so offered to list themselves and their servants in the service.

The council, both upon public and private motives, was very heartily disposed to effect it; and had several conferences together, and with the officers; in all which the governor too reasonably opposed the design, "as full of more difficulties, and "liable to greater damages, than any soldier, who "understood command, would expose himself and "the king's service to;" and protested, "that he "would not suffer any of the small garrison that "was under his charge to be hazarded in the at-"tempt." It was very true, Basing was near forty miles from Oxford, and, in the way between them, the enemy had a strong garrison of horse and foot at Abingdon, and as strong at Reading, whose horse every day visited all the highways near, besides a body of horse and dragoons quartered at Newbury; so that it appeared to most men hardly possible to send a party to Basing, and impossible for that party to return to Oxford, if they should be able to get to Basing: yet new importunities from the marquis, with a positive declaration, "that he could not "defend it above ten days, and must then submit to "the worst conditions the rebels were like to grant "to his person, and to his religion;" and new instances from his lady prevailed with the lords to enter upon a new consultation; in which the governor persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it.

In this debate colonel Gage declared, "that "though he thought the service full of hazard, "especially for the return; yet if the lords would, "by listing their own servants, persuade the gentle-"men in the town to do the like, and engage their "own persons, whereby a good troop or two of horse

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"might be raised, (upon which the principal dependence must be,) he would willingly, if there "were nobody else thought fitter for it, undertake "the conduct of them himself; and hoped he should "give a good account of it:" which being offered with great cheerfulness by a person, of whose prudence, as well as courage, they had a full confidence, they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual.

There was about this time, by the surrender of Greenland-house, (which could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure being beaten down by the cannon,) the regiment of colonel Hawkins marched into Oxford, amounting to near three hundred; to which as many others joined as made it up four hundred men. The lords mounted their servants upon their own horses; and they, with the volunteers, who frankly listed themselves, amounted to a body of two hundred and fifty very good horse, all put under the command of colonel William Web, an excellent officer, bred up in Flanders in some emulation with colonel Gage; and who, upon the catholic interest, was at this time contented to serve under him. With this small party for so great an action, Gage marched out of Oxford in the beginning of the night; and, by the morning, reached the place where he intended to refresh himself and his troops; which was a wood near Wallingford; from whence he despatched an express to sir William Ogle, governor of Winchester; who had made a promise to the lords of the council, "that, whensoever they "would endeavour the raising of the siege before "Basing, he would send one hundred horse and "three hundred foot out of his garrison, for their

" assistance;" and a presumption upon this aid was the principal motive for the undertaking: and so he was directed, at what hour in the morning his party should fall into Basing park, in the rear of the rebels' quarters; whilst Gage himself would fall on the other side; the marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent sallies from the house. 1644.

After some hours of refreshment in the morning, and sending this express to Winchester, the troops marched through by-lanes to Aldermaston, a village out of any great road; where they intended to take more rest that night. They had marched, from the time they left Oxford, with orange-tawny scarfs and ribbons, that they might be taken for the parliament soldiers; and hoped, by that artifice, to have passed undiscovered even to the approach upon the besiegers. But the party of horse which was sent before to Aldermaston, found there some of the parliament horse, and, forgetting their orange-tawny scarfs, fell upon them; and killed some, and took six or seven prisoners; whereby the secret was discovered, and notice quickly sent to Basing of the approaching danger; which accident made their stay shorter at that village than was intended, and than the weariness of the soldiers required. About eleven of the clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that night; the horsemen often alighting, that the foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary and surbated.

Between four and five of the clock on Wednesday morning, it having been Monday night that they left Oxford, they arrived within a mile of Basing; where an officer, sent from sir William Ogle, came to them

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to let them know, "that he durst not send his troops "so far, in regard many of the enemy's horse lay be- "tween Winchester and Basing." This broke all the colonel's measures; and, since there was no receding, made him change the whole method of his proceedings; and, instead of dividing his forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the Winchester forces had complied with their obligation, or if his march had been undiscovered, he resolved now to fall on jointly with all his body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the men to be ranged in battalions; and rid to every squadron, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every man to tie a white tape ribbon, or handkerchief, above the elbow of their right arm; and gave them the word *St. George;* which was the sign and the *word* that he had sent before to the marquis, lest in his sallies their men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other.

Thus they marched towards the house, colonel Web leading the right wing, and lieutenant colonel Bunkly the left of the horse; and Gage himself the foot. They had not marched far, when at the upper end of a large campaign field, upon a little rising of an hill, they discerned a body of five cornets of horse very full, standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the colonel must pass between two hedges lined very thick with musketeers; from whom the horse very courageously bore a smart volley, and then charged the enemy's horse so gallantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected

from the known courage of Norton, though many of his men fell, they gave ground; and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The foot disputed the business much better, and being beaten from hedge to hedge, retired into their quarters and works; which they did not abandon in less than two hours; and then a free entrance into the house was gained on that side, where the colonel only stayed to salute the marquis, and to put in the ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve barrels of powder, and twelve hundred weight of match; and immediately marched with his horse and foot to Basingstoke, a good market-town two miles from the house; leaving one hundred foot to be led, by some officers of the garrison, to the town of Basing, a village but a mile distant. In Basingstoke they found store of wheat, malt, oats, salt, bacon, cheese, and butter; as much of which was all that day sent to the house, as they could find carts or horses to transport, together with fourteen barrels of powder, and some muskets, and forty or fifty head of cattle, with above one hundred sheep: whilst the other party, that went to Basing town, beat the enemy that was quartered there, after having killed forty or fifty of them; some fled into the church, where they were quickly taken prisoners; and, among them, two captains, Jarvise and Jephson, the two eldest sons of two of the greatest rebels of that country, and both heirs to good fortunes, who were carried prisoners to Basing-house; the rest, who besieged that side, being fled into a strong fort which they had raised in the park. The colonel spent that and the next day in sending all manner of provisions into the house; and then, reasonably com-

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puting that the garrison was well provided for two months, he thought of his retreat to Oxford: which it was time to do: for besides that Norton had drawn all his men together, who had been dismayed, with all the troops which lay quartered within any distance, and appeared within sight of the house more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted; he was likewise well informed by the persons he had employed, that the enemy from Abingdon had lodged themselves at Aldermaston, and those from Reading and Newbury, in two other villages upon the river Kennet; over which he was to pass.

Hereupon, that he might take away the apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out orders, which he was sure would come into the enemy's hands, to two or three villages next the house, "that they should, by the next day noon, "send such proportions of corn into Basing-house, "as were mentioned in the warrants; upon pain, if "they failed by the time, to have a thousand horse "and dragoons sent to fire the towns." This being done, and all his men drawn together about eleven of the clock at night, Thursday the second night after he came thither, the marquis giving him two or three guides who knew the country exactly, he marched from Basing without sound of drum or trumpet, and passed the Kennet, undiscovered, by a ford near a bridge which the enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had secured that passage; the horse taking the foot *en croupe;* and then, marching by-ways, in the morning they likewise passed over the Thames, at a ford little more than a mile from Reading; and so escaped the ene-

my, and got before night to Wallingford; where he securely rested, and refreshed his men that night; and the next day arrived safe at Oxford; having lost only two captains, and two or three other gentlemen, and common men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously. What number the enemy lost could not be known; but it was believed they lost many, besides above one hundred prisoners that were taken; and it was confessed, by enemies as well as friends, that it was as soldierly an action as had been performed in the war on either side; and redounded very much to the reputation of the commander. BOOK VIII. 1644.

The next day after the army of Essex was gone, and dissolved, the king returned to his quarters at Boconnocke, and stayed there only a day to refresh his men; having sent, the day before, Greenvil, with the Cornish horse and foot, towards Plymouth, to join with Goring in the pursuit of Balfour, and that body of horse; which, by passing over the bridge near Salt-ash, they might easily have done. But he slackened his march that he might possess Salt-ash, which the enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of cannon, with some arms and ammunition; which, together with the town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This kept him from joining with Goring; who thereby, and for want of those foot, excused his not fighting with Balfour when he was within distance; but contented himself with sending a commanded party to follow his rear; and in that too eager a pursuit, captain Samuel Wainman, a young man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the son of a very wise and eminent father, was lost, to the irreparable damage of a no-

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ble family. Thus Balfour, by an orderly and well governed march, passed above one hundred miles in the king's quarters, as hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

The fear and apprehension of the enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur begun, "that the "king had been persuaded to grant too good condi- "tions to that body of foot; and that he might well "have forced them to have submitted to his mercy, "as well as to have laid down their arms; and so "have made both officers and soldiers to become "prisoners of war: by which the enemy would not "have been able so soon to have raised another "army." But they who undertook to censure that action, how great a number soever they were, did not at all understand the present temper and constitution of the king's army; which then was not near so strong as it was reputed to be. Whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it first entered Cornwall, which was in the beginning of August, and when a party of his majesty's horse surprised and seized the earl of Essex's own lieutenant colonel, and many other officers of name at Boconnocke, before his majesty was suspected to be in any near distance: I say, whatever might have been then done, in that consternation the enemy was then in, the case was very much altered in the beginning of September, when the articles were made; and when the number of the foot who laid down their arms was in truth superior to those of the king's, (as it will appear anon,) when his army marched out of Cornwall. The oversight, which was a great one, was on the other side, when

their horse broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly possible they should not know it, that all the king's horse, his guard only excepted, were at that time quartered behind them, about St. Blase, their foot might very well have marched away with their horse, their cannon only being left behind, and having got but four or five hours before, which they might easily, and as undiscerned have done, the king's army in the condition and state it was in, naked and unshod, would through those enclosed parts, narrow lanes, and deep ditches, in Devon and Somerset, have been able to have done them little harm: besides the king very well knew at the time the articles were made, that Middleton, notwithstanding all his affronts, was then come to Tiverton; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his majesty, in those condescensions, proceeded with no less prudence than clemency.

The king sends a message of peace.

After this great success,[z] the king thought fit to renew his offer of peace; and sent a message to the two houses of parliament, to desire that there might be a treaty to that purpose; which message was sent by a trumpet to the earl of Essex, after his repair to London, to be delivered by him, of which there was no consideration taken in three months after the receipt of it. This done, the king was persuaded, in his way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon Plymouth; for so far it might be presumed that the Cornish troops, how impatient soever they were to be at their harvest, would attend him: and if he could, by appearing before it, become master of it, which was not thought impro-

[z] great success,] victory,

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bable, he might[a] return to Oxford in great triumph, and leave the west throughly reduced; for then Lyme could not hold out, and he might be sure to carry an army with him strongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of ease and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther stay; and he quickly found it necessary to do so; having sent a summons to the town, and received a rude answer to it: for the earl of Essex had left the lord Roberts governor in that town; a man of a sour and surly nature, a great opiniâtre, and one who must be overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The king, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the town would require some time, pursued his former resolution, and marched away; having committed the blocking up of Plymouth to sir Richard Greenvil, a man who had been bred a soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises; having with all manner of assurance undertaken to take the town by Christmas, if such conditions might be performed to him, all which were punctually complied with; whilst he made his quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the town; beginning his war first upon his wife, who had been long in possession of her own fortune, by virtue of a decree in chancery, many years before the troubles; and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself master of all their estates who were in the service of the parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the town; only upon the first message between the lord Roberts and him, there arose so

The king leaves sir Richard Greenvil to block up Plymouth.

[a] might] would

mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never civility or quarter observed between them; but such as were taken on either side[b] were put to the sword, or, which was worse, to the halter. 1644.

Since there will be often occasion to mention this gentleman, sir Richard Greenvil, in the ensuing discourse, and because many men believed, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entering into the king's service some months before the time we are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy family in Cornwall, which had, in several ages, produced men of great courage, and very signal in their fidelity to, and service of, the crown; and was himself younger brother (though in his nature, or humour, not of kin to him) to the brave sir Bevil Greenvil, who so courageously lost his life in the battle of Lansdown. Being a younger brother, and a very young man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the profession of a soldier; to which he had dedicated himself under the greatest general of that age, prince Maurice, in[c] the regiment of my lord Vere, who was general of all the English. In that service he was looked upon as a man of courage, and a diligent officer, in the quality of a captain, to which he attained after few years' service. About this time, in the end of the reign of king James, the war broke out between England and Spain; and in the expedition to Cales, this gentleman served as a major to a regiment of foot, and continued in the

[b] either side] either side between them [c] in] and in

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same command, in the war that soon after followed against France; and, at the Isle of Rhee, insinuated himself into the very good grace of the duke of Buckingham, who was the general in that invasion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made colonel of a regiment with general approbation, and as an officer that well deserved it.

His credit every day increased with the duke; who, out of the generosity of his nature, as a most generous person he was, resolved to raise his fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance and solicitation, he prevailed with a rich widow to marry him, who had been a lady of extraordinary beauty, which she had not yet outlived; and though she had no great dower by her husband, a younger brother of the earl of Suffolk; yet she inherited a fair fortune of her own, near Plymouth; and was besides very rich in a personal estate, and was looked upon as the richest match[d] of the west. This lady, by the duke's credit, sir Richard Greenvil (for he was now made a knight and baronet) obtained; and was thereby possessed of a plentiful estate upon the borders of his own country; where[e] his own family had great credit and authority. The war being quickly[f] at an end, and he deprived of his great patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the fortune of his wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expense a person of his quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his vanity and ambition; nor so great, as he, upon common reports, had promised himself by her. By not being enough

[d] match] marriage [e] where] and where [f] quickly] shortly

pleased with her fortune, he grew less pleased with his wife; who, being a woman of a haughty and imperious nature, and of a wit superior to his, quickly resented the disrespect she received from him; and in no degree studied to make herself easy to him. After some years spent together in these domestic unsociable contestations, in which he possessed himself of all her estate, as the sole master of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any competency for herself, and indulged to himself all those licences in her own house, which to women are most grievous, she found means to withdraw herself from him; and was with all kindness received into that family, in which she had before been married, and was always very much respected.

Her absence was not ingrateful to him, till the tenants refused to pay him any more rent, and he found himself on a sudden deprived of her whole estate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appeared now, that she had, before her marriage with him, settled her entire fortune so absolutely upon the earl of Suffolk, that the present right was in him, and he required the rents to be paid to him. This begot[g] a suit in the chancery between sir Richard Greenvil and the then earl of Suffolk, before the lord Coventry, who found the conveyances in law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve sir Richard Greenvil in equity, but that in justice he must decree the land to the earl; which he did. This very sensible mortification transported him so much, that, being a man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endea-

[g] begot] begat

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vours to have engaged the earl in a personal conflict, he revenged himself upon him in such opprobrious language, as the government and justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished; and the earl appealed for reparation to the court of star-chamber; where sir Richard was decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him; and was likewise fined the sum of three thousand pounds to the king; who gave the fine likewise to the earl: so that sir Richard was committed to the prison of the Fleet in execution for the whole six thousand pounds; which at that time was thought by all men to be a very severe and rigorous decree, and drew a general compassion towards the unhappy gentleman.

After he had endured many years of strict imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late troubles, he made his escape out of the prison; and transporting himself beyond the seas, remained there till the parliament was called that produced so many miseries to the kingdom; and when he heard that many decrees which had been made, in that time, by the court of star-chamber, were repealed, and the persons grieved, absolved from those penalties, he likewise returned, and petitioned to have his cause heard; for which a committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the rebellion broke out in Ireland. Among the first troops that were raised, and transported for the suppression thereof, by the parliament, (to whom the king had unhappily committed the prosecution of it [h],) sir Richard Greenvil, upon the fame of being a good officer, was sent over with a very good troop of horse;

[h] of it] thereof

was[i] major of the earl of Leicester's own regiment of horse, and was very much esteemed by him, and the more by the parliament, for the signal acts of cruelty he did every day commit upon the Irish; which were of so many kinds upon both sexes, young and old, hanging old men who were bedrid, because they would not discover where their money was, that he believed they had; and old women, some of quality, after he had plundered them, and found less than he expected; that they can hardly be believed, though notoriously known to be true.

After the cessation was made in Ireland, he pretended that his conscience would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the parliament, for declaring so heartily against that cessation; and sir William Waller being in the beginning of this year to make his expedition into the west, after the battle of Alresford, sir Richard Greenvil was either commended to him, or invited by him, to command the horse under him; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many insinuations, how much his interest in Devonshire and Cornwall would advance theirs. He received from the parliament a great sum of money, for the making his equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary lustre; and sir William Waller communicated to him all his designs, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire friend, and an officer of that eminence, by[k] whose advice he meant to govern his own conduct.

His first and principal design was to surprise Basing-house, by a correspondence with the lord Ed-

[i] was] and was

[k] by] from

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ward Pawlet, brother to the marquis of Winchester, and then with him, as unsuspected as a brother ought to be. For[1] the better execution of this, sir Richard Greenvil was sent before with a body of the horse, that all things might be well disposed, and prepared against the time Waller himself should come to him. He appointed a rendezvous for the horse at Bagshot, and the same day marched out of London only with his equipage; which was very noble; a coach and six horses, a waggon and six horses, many led horses, and many servants: with those, when he came to Stanes, he left the Bagshot-road, and marched directly to Reading, where the king's garrison then was; and thence, without delay, to Oxford, where he was very graciously received by the king, and the more, because he was not expected. He communicated then to the king the whole design of the surprise of Basing; upon which the king sent an express immediately to the marquis, with all the particular informations; who thereupon seized upon his brother, and the other conspirators; who confessed all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and combination. The marquis prevailed with the king, that he might only turn his brother out of the garrison, after justice was done upon his complices. This very happy and seasonable discovery preserved that important place; which, without it, had infallibly been lost within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the person of the discoverer; upon whom the parliament thundered out all those reproaches, which his deserting them in such a manner was liable to; and denounced all those judg-

[1] For] And for

ments upon him of attainder, confiscation, and incapacity of pardon, which they used to do against those, who, they thought, had done them most mischief, or against whom they were most incensed: which was all the excuse he could make for his severe [m] proceedings against those of their party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he commanded. 1644.

From Oxford he went quickly into the west, before he had any command there; declaring that he would assist colonel Digby; who, upon prince Maurice's departure from thence with his army, was left to block up Plymouth; which he did with much courage and soldierly ability. To [n] him he had letters from the king, that he should put sir Richard Greenvil into the possession of his wife's estate, that lay within his quarters, and which was justly liable to a sequestration by her living in London, and being too zealously of that party; which the colonel punctually did. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that estate: which was what he most set his heart upon.

One day he made a visit from his house, which he called his own, to the colonel; and dined with him; and the colonel civilly sent half a dozen troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the garrison, in their usual excursions, might meet with him. In [o] his return home, he saw four or five fellows coming out of a neighbour wood, with burdens of wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were soldiers of the garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest; which, to save his own life, he

[m] severe] *Not in MS.* [n] To] And to [o] In] And in

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was contented to do: so strong his appetite was to those executions he had been accustomed to in Ireland, without any kind of commission or pretence of authority.

Shortly after, upon a sally made with horse and foot from the town, colonel Digby, (who, besides the keenness of his courage, had a more composed understanding, and less liable to fumes, than some [p] of his family who had sharper parts,) charging them with such vigour as routed and drove them back, received himself in the close an unhappy wound, with a rapier, in the eye; which pierced near his brain; so that, though he was brought off by his soldiers, it was very long before he recovered enough to endure the air, and never did the effects of the wound. Upon [q] this accident sir Richard Greenvil was placed in that command, which he executed for some months; until, upon the advance of the earl of Essex, he was compelled to retire into Cornwall, where we found him at the king's coming thither.

This so large excursion upon a private person [r] may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much animosity against the memory of a man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the king's service: but they who know the occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compelled the prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the world, and prevailed with some good men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the council

[p] some] those
[q] Upon] And upon
[r] a private person] so private a person

then about the prince had some personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe, that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a man's original, nature, manners, and disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

The king was now most intent to return into his winter quarters at Oxford, which was all he could propose to himself; in which[s] he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that Waller was even ready to come out of London, and that Middleton was retired from Tiverton to join with him; that they had sent for the earl of Manchester to march towards the west with his victorious army: so that, if he long deferred his march, he must look to fight another battle, before he could reach Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, his army, that had been upon hard duty, and had made long marches above six months together, required some rest and refreshment: the foot were without clothes and shoes; and the horse in such ill humour, that without money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the king marched from Plymouth, himself, attended only by his own troop, and the principal officers of the court, went to Exeter; appointing the army, by slow marches, to follow, and to be quartered at Tiverton, and the other towns adjacent; where they arrived on the 21st of September.

His majesty now quickly discerned how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had lessened and di-

[s] in which] and in which

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minished his army. His own body of foot, which when he entered Cornwall were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and prince Maurice's, which consisted of full four thousand five hundred, when the king first viewed them at Kirton, was not now half the number. Of all the forces under Greenvil, which had made so much noise, and had been thought worthy of the name of an army, there were only five hundred foot and three hundred horse left with him, for the blocking up [t] Plymouth; the rest were dwindled away; or else, [u] which was his usual artifice, he had encouraged them to stay for some time in Cornwall, and then to repair to him, as many of them did; for his forces suddenly increased; and the truth is, few of the Cornish marched eastward with the king. The king's horse were harassed, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the discontent of the riders; so that great provisions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the commissioners appointed in Devonshire for those affairs, his majesty was within few days supplied with two thousand pounds in money, which was presently distributed among the horse; and three thousand suits of clothes, with good proportions of shoes and stockings; which were likewise delivered to the foot. What remained yet wanting for the horse and foot, was promised to meet them, upon their first entrance into Somersetshire; where the commissioners of that county had undertaken they should be ready.

There was another thing of equal importance to

[t] up] of

[u] or else,] except,

be provided for, before the king left Exeter; which was, the blocking up the troops of Lyme; which were grown more insolent by the success they had had; and made incursions sometimes even to the walls of Exeter; and to restrain a stronger garrison in Taunton. For when prince Maurice raised his siege from Lyme, he had very unhappily drawn out the garrison of Taunton, which consisted of eight hundred men, under the command of sir John Stawel, a person of that eminent [x] courage and fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only fourscore men in the castle to be kept by a lieutenant, who basely gave it up, as soon as Essex in his passage demanded it; for which he deservedly afterwards suffered death. And it was now, by the garrison the earl put into it, and the extreme malignity and pride of the inhabitants, in both which they exceeded, [y] become a sharp thorn in the sides of all that populous county.

To remedy the first of these, some troops which depended upon the garrison of Exeter were assigned, and were [z] to receive orders from sir John Berkley, governor thereof; who was the more vacant for that service by the reduction of Barnstable; which was done during the king's stay at Exeter. The other of Taunton was more unhappily committed to colonel Windham, the governor of Bridgewater; who, though a gentleman of known courage and unquestionable fidelity, by the divisions and factions in the country, was not equal to the work. To despatch all this, the king stayed not a full week at Exeter; but hastened his march to Chard in So-

[x] eminent] notorious

[y] exceeded,] excelled,

[z] and were] which were

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mersetshire, where he stayed longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwise have reached Oxford, before the enemy was in a conjunction strong enough to stop him: yet even that stay could not be prevented, except he would have left the money and clothes (which the commissioners of Somersetshire promised, and did deliver there at last) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the army [a].

It was the last of September, that the king marched from Chard; and quartered that night at a house of the lord Pawlet's, where prince Rupert met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy affairs of the north, and that he had left about two thousand horse under the command of sir Marmaduke Langdale; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the king would have had a glorious end of his western expedition. Prince Rupert presently returned to Bristol, with orders, as soon as was possible, to march with those northern horse under sir Marmaduke Langdale, and two thousand foot, which were in Wales, under colonel Charles Gerrard, into Gloucestershire; by which the enemy might be obliged to divide their force, which if they should still keep united, the prince from thence would be able to join with the king: but these orders were not executed in time. The king's army at this time consisted in the whole but of five thousand five hundred foot, and about four thousand horse; and Waller was already come with his horse to Blandford; but some of his troops being beaten up by those of the king's, he retired to Shaftsbury,

[a] army] *MS. adds:* which had not had much rest.

and those parts of Wiltshire adjacent. It concerned the king very much, before he left those parts, to relieve Portland-castle, which had been now besieged from the time of the earl of Essex's march that way. To[b] that purpose, he marched to Sherborne; where he stayed six days too long, though in that time he raised the siege before Portland-castle, if he had not hoped by that delay that his nephew prince Rupert would have been well advanced in his march. Sir Lewis Dives was left with his own regiment of one hundred and fifty old soldiers, and some horse in Sherborne-castle, and made commander in chief of Dorsetshire; in hope that he would be able shortly by his activity, and the very good affection of that county, to raise men enough to recover Weymouth: and he did perform all that could be reasonably expected from him. His majesty had a great desire, in his march to Oxford, to relieve Donnington-castle[c], and Basing; which was again besieged by almost the whole army of the enemy;[d] and then to send a good party to relieve Banbury, which had been close besieged by colonel John Fiennes, another son of the lord Say, with all the forces of Northamptonshire, Warwick, and Coventry; and bravely defended by sir William Compton, full three months; but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity. 1644.

In order to preserve all this, the king came to Salisbury upon the fifteenth of October; where he understood, "that Waller lay at Andover with his "troops; that Manchester was advanced as far as

[b] To] And to

[c] Donnington-castle] *MS. adds:* by Newbury

[d] the whole army of the enemy;] their whole army;

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"Reading with five thousand horse and foot, and "four and twenty pieces of ordnance; and that four "regiments of the trained bands of London were "beginning their march to him; and that three "thousand of the horse and foot of the earl of Es- "sex's army were near Portsmouth, expecting or- "ders to join with the rest." This might very well have disposed his majesty to have hastened his march to Oxford, which would have made a fair conclusion of the campaign; and this was the more reasonable, because here the king received letters from prince Rupert, in which he declared, "that it "was not possible for him to bring up his troops so "soon as his majesty expected;" and indeed as his present condition required: and if this had been resolved, both Donnington-castle and Banbury might have been seasonably set at liberty; but a great gaiety possessed Goring, that he earnestly advised the king to march, with secrecy and expedition, to beat Waller; who lay at Andover, a good distance from the rest, with three thousand horse and dragoons; which the king, upon the unanimous consent of the council, consented to.

He had left all the cannon that he had taken from Essex, in Exeter; and now he sent all his great cannon to a garrison he had within two miles of Salisbury at Langford, a house of the lord Gorges; where was a garrison of one hundred men, commanded by a good officer. The rest of the cannon and carriages were left at Wilton, the house of the earl of Pembroke, with a regiment of foot to guard them; and the king appointed the rendezvous for the army to be the next morning, by seven of the clock, near Clarendon-park; and good guards were

set at all the avenues of the city, to keep all people from going out, that Waller might not have any notice of his purpose: and if the hour of the rendezvous had been observed, as it rarely was, (though his majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time,) that design had succeeded to wish. For though the foot under prince Maurice came not up till eleven of the clock, so that the army did not begin its march till twelve, yet they came within four miles of Andover, before Waller had any notice of their motions; when he drew out his whole body towards them, as if he meant to fight; but upon view of their strength, and the good order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the town; leaving a strong party of horse and dragoons to make good his retreat. But the king's van charged, and routed them with good execution, and pursued them through the town, and slew many of them in the rear, until the darkness of the night secured them, and hindered the others from following farther. But they were all scattered, and came not quickly together again; and the king quartered that night at Andover. The[e] scattering this great body under Waller in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the spirits of the king's army, that they desired nothing more than to have a battle with the whole army of the enemy; which the king meant not to seek out, nor to decline fighting with them, if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolved to raise the siege of Donnington-castle, which was little out of his way to Oxford. To[f]

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[e] The] And the

[f] To] And to

BOOK VIII. 1644. that purpose, he sent orders for the cannon which had been left at Langford and Wilton, to make all haste to a place appointed between Andover and Newbury; where he stayed with his army till they came up to him; and then marched together to Newbury, within a mile of Donnington.

The blockade of[g] Donnington-castle had been (when Middleton from thence pursued his march into the west) left to the care of colonel Horton; who for some time was contented to block it up; but then finding his summons neglected, and that they had store of provisions within, and having an addition of forces from Abingdon and Reading, he resolved to besiege it; which he begun to do the 29th of September; and made his approaches, and raised a battery on the foot of the hill next Newbury, and plied it so with his great cannon, that, after twelve days' continual shooting, he beat down three towers and a part of the wall; which he believed had so humbled the governor and the garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been; and therefore he sent them another summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, "that prevailed with him, now they were even at "his mercy, to offer them quarter for their lives, if "they gave up the castle before Wednesday at ten "of the clock in the morning; but if that his favour was not accepted, he declared, in the presence of God, that there should no man amongst "them have his life spared." The governor made himself merry with his high and threatening language; and sent him word, "he would keep the

[g] The blockade of] *Not in MS.*

"place, and would neither give nor receive quar-
"ter." At this time, the earl of Manchester himself with his forces came to Newbury; and receiving no better answer to his own summons, than Horton had done before, he resolved to storm it the next day. But his soldiers, being well informed of the resolution of those within, declined that hot service; and plied it with their artillery until the next night; and then removed their battery to the other side of the castle; and begun their approaches by saps; when the governor made a strong sally, and beat them out of their trenches, and killed a lieutenant colonel, who commanded in chief, with many soldiers; shot their chief cannoneer through the head, brought away their cannon-baskets, and many arms, and retired with very little loss: yet the next night they finished their battery; and continued some days their great shot, till they heard of the approach of the king's army; whereupon [h] they drew off their ordnance, and their trained bands of London being not yet come to them, the earl thought fit to march away to a greater distance; there having been, in nineteen days, above one thousand great shot spent upon the walls, without any other damage to the garrison, than the beating down some old parts thereof.

When the king came to Newbury, the governor of Donnington attended him, and was knighted for his very good behaviour; and there was then so little apprehension of dread of the enemy, that his majesty thought not of prosecuting his journey towards Oxford, before he should relieve both Basing

[h] whereupon] and thereupon

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and Banbury. And now importunities being sent from the last, which was even upon the point of rendering for want of victuals, they having already eaten most of their horses, his majesty was well content that the earl of Northampton, who had the supreme government of that garrison, where he had left his brave brother his lieutenant, should, with three regiments of horse, attempt the relieving it; letters being sent to Oxford, "that colonel Gage, "with some horse and foot from thence, should "meet him;" which they did punctually; and came time enough to Banbury before they were expected: yet they found the rebels' horse (superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five bodies on the south side of the town, near their sconce; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to fight. But two or three shots, made at them by a couple of drakes brought from Oxford by colonel Gage, made them stagger, and retire from their ground very disorderly. Their cannon and baggage had been sent out of the town the night before; and their foot, being above seven hundred, run out of Banbury upon the first advance of the king's troops. Colonel Gage with the foot went directly to the castle, that they might be at liberty; whilst the earl of Northampton followed the horse so closely, that they found it best to make a stand; where he furiously charged and routed them; and, notwithstanding they had lined some hedges with musketeers, pursued them till they were scattered, and totally dispersed; their general, young Fiennes, continuing his flight, till he came to Coventry, without staying. The foot, for the most part, by dispersing themselves, escaped by the enclosures, before colonel

Banbury-castle relieved by the earl of Northampton.

Gage could come up. But there were taken, in the chase, one field-piece, and three waggons of arms and ammunition; many slain; and two officers of horse, with near one hundred other prisoners, four cornets of horse, and two hundred horses, were taken; and all this with the loss of one captain and nine troopers; some officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the siege was raised from Banbury; which had continued full thirteen weeks; so notably defended, that though they had but two horses left uneaten, they had never suffered a summons to be sent to them; and it was now relieved the very day of the month upon which both town and castle had been rendered to the king two years before; being the 26th of October. 1644.

Though the relief of Banbury succeeded to wish, yet the king paid dear for it soon after: the very day after that service was performed, colonel Urry, a Scotchman, who had formerly served the parliament, and is well mentioned, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and performed some signal service to the king, had in the west, about the time the king entered into Cornwall, (in a discontented humour, which was very natural to him,) desired a pass to go beyond the seas; and so quitted the service: but, instead of embarking himself, made haste to London; and put himself now into the earl of Manchester's army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the king's army, and a description of the persons and customs of those who principally commanded; so that as they well knew the constitution and weakness of

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the king's army, they had also [i] advertisement of the earl of Northampton's being gone, with three regiments of horse, to the relief of Banbury. Whereupon, within two days after, all those forces which had been under Essex and Waller, being united with Manchester, (with whom likewise the trained bands of London were now joined; all which made up a body of above eight thousand foot; the number of their horse being not inferior,) advanced towards the king, who had not half the number before the departure of the earl of Northampton, and stayed still at Newbury with a resolution to expect the return of that earl, that he might likewise do somewhat for Basing; not believing that the enemy could be so soon united.

The second battle of Newbury.

It was now too late to hope to make a safe retreat to Oxford, when the whole body of the enemy's army, which had received positive orders to fight the king as soon as was possible, appeared as near as Thackham; so that his majesty, not at all dismayed, resolved to stand upon the defensive only; hoping that, upon the advantage he had [k] of the town of Newbury and the river, the enemy would not speedily advance; and that in the mean time, by being compelled to lodge in the field, which grew now to be very cold, whilst his army was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The king quartered in the town of Newbury; and placed strong guards on the south of the town: but the greatest part of the army was placed towards the enemy's quarters, in a good house belonging to Mr. Doleman at Shaw, and in a village near it, defended

[i] they had also] so they had [k] he had] *Not in MS.*

by the river that runs under Donnington-castle, and in a house between that village and Newbury, about which a work was cast up, and at a mill upon the river of Kennet; all which lay almost east from the town. Directly north from thence were two open fields, where most of the horse stood with the train of artillery, and about half a mile west was the village of Speen; and beyond it a small heath. In this village lay all prince Maurice's foot, and some horse, and at the entrance of the heath a work was cast up, which cleared the heath. In[l] this posture they had many skirmishes with the enemy for two days, without losing any ground; and the enemy was still beaten off with loss.

On Sunday morning, the seven and twentieth of October, by the break of day, one thousand of the earl of Manchester's army, with the trained bands of London, came down the hill; and passed the river that way[m] by Shaw; and, undiscovered, forced that guard which should have kept the pass near[n] the house; that was intrenched where sir Bernard Astley lay; who instantly, with a good body of musketeers, fell upon the enemy; and not only routed them, but compelled them to rout two other bodies of their own men, who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the enemy were slain, and many drowned in the river, and above two hundred arms taken. There continued, all that day, very warm skirmishes in several parts; the enemy's army having almost encompassed the king's; and with much more loss to them, than to the king; till, about three of the clock in the afternoon, Waller

[l] In] And in
[m] that way] that was
[n] near] that was near

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with his own, and the forces which had been under Essex, fell upon the quarter at Speen, and passed the river; which was not well defended by the officer who was appointed to guard it with horse and foot, very many of them being gone off from their guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a quarter that was thought the strongest of all. But having thus got the river, they marched in good order, with very great bodies of foot, winged with horse, towards the heath; from whence the horse which were left there, with too little resistance, retired; being in truth much overpowered, by reason the major part of them, upon confidence of security of the pass, were gone to provide forage for their horse.

By this means the enemy possessed themselves of the ordnance which had been planted there, and of the village of Speen; the foot which were there retired to the hedge next the large field between Speen and Newbury; which they made good: at the same time, the right wing of the enemy's horse advanced under the hill of Speen, with one hundred musketeers in the van, and came into the open field, where a good body of the king's horse stood, which at first received them in some disorder; but the queen's regiment of horse, commanded by sir John Cansfield, charged them with so much gallantry, that he routed that great body; which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein most of the musketeers were slain, and very many of the horse; insomuch that that whole wing rallied not again that night. The king was at that time with the prince, and many of the lords, and other his servants, in the middle of that field; and

could not, by his own presence, restrain those horse, which at the first approach of the enemy were in that disorder, from shamefully giving ground. So that if sir John Cansfield had not, in that article of time, given them that brisk charge, by which other troops were ready to charge them in the flank, the king himself had been in very great danger. 1644.

At the same time, the left wing of the enemy's horse advanced towards the north side of the great field; but, before they got thither, Goring, with the earl of Cleveland's brigade, charged them so vigorously, that he forced them back in great confusion over a hedge; and following them,[o] was charged by another fresh body, which he defeated likewise, and slew very many of the enemy upon the place; having[p] not only routed and beaten them off their ground, but endured the shot of three bodies of their foot in their pursuit, and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the earl of Cleveland's horse falling under him, he was taken prisoner; which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred horse, and three thousand foot, of those under the earl of Manchester, advanced with great resolution upon Shaw-house, and the field adjacent; which quarter was defended by sir Jacob Astley and colonel George Lisle; and the house, by lieutenant colonel Page. They came singing of psalms; and, at first, drove forty musketeers from a hedge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently charged by sir John Brown, with the prince's regiment of horse; who did good execution upon them, till he

[o] following them,] following them over that hedge,

[p] having] and having

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saw another body of their horse ready to charge him, which made him retire to the foot in Mr. Doleman's garden, which flanked that field, and gave fire upon those horse, whereof very many fell; and the horse thereupon wheeling about, sir John Brown fell upon their rear, killed many, [q] and kept that ground all the day; when the reserve of foot, commanded by colonel Thelwell, galled their foot with several vollies, and then fell on them with the but-ends of their muskets, till they had not only beaten them from the hedges, but quite out of the field; leaving two drakes, some colours, and many dead bodies behind them. At this time, a great body of their foot attempted Mr. Doleman's house, but were so well entertained by lieutenant colonel Page, that, after they had made their first effort, they were forced to retire in such confusion, that he pursued them from the house with a notable execution, insomuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two drakes out of the field to the house, the enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that quarter.

It was now night; for which neither party was sorry; and the king, who had been on that side where the enemy only had prevailed, thought that his army had suffered alike [r] in all other places. He saw they were entirely possessed of Speen, and had taken all the ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them, before the next morning, to have compassed him round; towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.

[q] killed many,] and killed many,

[r] alike] likewise

Hereupon, as soon as it was night, his majesty, with the prince, and those lords who had been about him all the day, and his regiment of guards, retired into the fields under Donnington-castle, and resolved to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the great[s] advantage the enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompassed, if his forces were beaten from either of the posts. That resolution was, "to march away "in the night towards Wallingford;" and to that purpose, all the carriages and great ordnance had been that morning drawn under Donnington-castle; so he sent orders to all the officers to draw off their men to the same place; and receiving intelligence at that time that prince Rupert was come, or would be that night at Bath, that he might make no stay there, but presently be able to join with his army, his majesty himself, with the prince, and about three hundred horse, made haste thither, and found prince Rupert there, and thence made what haste they could back towards Oxford. The truth is, the king's army was not in so ill a condition, as the king conceived it to have been: that party which were in the field near Speen, kept their ground very resolutely; and although it was a fair moonshine night, the enemy, that was very near them, and much superior in number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the enemy that had been so roughly treated at Shaw, having received succour of a strong body of horse, resolved once more to make an attempt upon the foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they stood

[s] great] huge

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not well enough to receive an equal loss, but retired to their hill, where they stood still. This[t] was the last action between the armies; for about ten of the clock at night, all the army, horse, foot, and cannon, upon the king's orders, drew forth their several guards to the heath about Donnington-castle; in which they left most of their wounded men, with all their ordnance, ammunition, and carriages; then[u] prince Maurice, and the other officers, marched in good order away to Wallingford, committing the bringing up the rear to sir Humphrey Bennet, (who had behaved himself very signally that day,) who, with his brigade of horse, marched behind, and received not the least disturbance from the enemy; who, in so light a night, could not but know of the retreat, and were well enough pleased to be rid of an enemy that had handled them so ill. By the morning, all the army, foot as well as horse, arrived at Wallingford; where having refreshed a little, they marched to Oxford, without seeing any party of the enemy that looked after them.

Many made a question which party had the better of the day; and neither[x] was well enough satisfied[y] with their success. There could be no question there were very many more killed of the enemy, than of the king's army; whereof were missing only sir William St. Leger, lieutenant colonel to the duke's regiment of foot; lieutenant colonel Topping, and lieutenant colonel Leake, both officers of horse, who were all there slain, with not above one hundred common soldiers, in all places. The earl of Brentford, general of the army, was wounded on the head;

[t] This] And this
[u] then] and then
[x] neither] either
[y] satisfied] *Omitted in MS.*

sir John Cansfield, sir John Greenvil, and lieutenant colonel Page, were wounded; but all recovered. The officers of the enemy's side were never talked of, being, for the most part, of no better families than the common soldiers. But it was reasonably computed, by those who saw the action in all places, that there could not be so few as one thousand dead upon the place: yet [z] because the king's army quitted the field, and marched away in the night, the other side thought themselves masters; and the parliament celebrated their victory with their usual triumphs; though, within few days after, they discerned that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagined, that the earl of Brentford remained that night in the castle, by reason of the hurt in his head, and so sent colonel Urry to him to persuade him to give up the castle, and to make him other large offers; all which the general rejected with the indignation that became him. No more shall be said of the colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his life for and in the king's service; which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind reflections.

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The next day, when they knew that the king's army was retired, and not till then, they made haste to possess themselves of Newbury; and then drew up their whole army before Donnington-castle, and summoned the governor "to deliver it to them, or "else they would not leave one stone upon another." To which the governor made no other reply, than "that he was not bound to repair it; but however

[z] yet] but

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"he would, by God's help, keep the ground after-
"wards." Seeing[a] his obstinacy, they offered him
"to march away with the[b] arms, and all things be-
"longing to the garrison;" and, when that moved not, that he "should carry all the cannon and am-
"munition with him:" to all which he answered, "that he wondered they would not be satisfied with "so many answers that he had sent," and desired them "to be assured, that he would not go out of "the castle, till the king sent him order so to do." Offended with these high answers, they resolved to assault it; but the officer who commanded the party being killed, with some few of the soldiers, they retired, and never after made any attempt upon it, but remained quietly at Newbury in great faction among themselves; every man taking upon himself to find fault, and censure what had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole day's service.

The king met prince Rupert, as he expected, with colonel Gerrard, and sir Marmaduke Langdale; and made all the haste he could to join those forces with his own army, that so he might march back to Newbury, and disengage his cannon and carriages. By the way he met the earl of Northampton, and those regiments which had relieved Banbury; and having with marvellous expedition caused a new train of artillery to be formed, he brought his army again to a rendezvous on Bullington Green; where, with the addition of those forces, and some foot, which he drew out of Oxford, under the command of colonel Gage, it appeared to be full six thousand foot, and five thousand horse; with which he marched

[a] keep the ground afterwards." Seeing] keep the ground. Afterwards seeing

[b] the] their

to Wallingford; and within a day more than a week after he had left Donnington-castle, found himself there again in so good a posture, that he resolved not to decline fighting with the enemy; but would be first possessed of his cannon, and put some provision into the castle; which he accomplished without any opposition. 1644. The king relieves Donnington-castle.

The enemy's army lay still at Newbury, perplexed with the divisions and factions among their own officers, without any notice of the king's advance, till a quarter of their horse was beaten up. The next morning the king put his army into battalia; prince Rupert, who was now declared general, led the van, and got possession of the heath, on the back side of the castle; from which a small party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very steep, and the way narrower.[i] On that heath the king's[k] army was drawn up about noon, every one being prepared to fight; and none of the enemy appearing, they marched by the castle over the river by a mill, and two fords below it, without any opposition, and thence drew into the large field between Speen and Newbury, which was thought a good place to expect the enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great body of their horse and foot into the other field toward Shaw, and had made breastworks and batteries on the back side of Newbury; which town they resolved to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the king had done before; presuming, that they now having the warmer lodging, might better attack the king after his men had lain a night or two in the fields; it being now the month of November,

[c] narrower.] narrow.

[d] king's] *Not in MS.*

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but fair for that season. Some light skirmishes passed between the horse; but when the king saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to fight, he called his council together, who were unanimous in opinion, "that since he had relieved the "castle, and put sufficient provisions into it, and "that it was in his power to draw off his ordnance "and ammunition from thence, he had done his bu- "siness; and if any honour had been lost the other "day, it was regained now, by his having passed "his army over the river in the face of theirs, and "offered them battle, which they durst not accept." Upon which the king resolved to attempt them no farther, but gave orders to retire in their view, with drums beating and trumpets sounding, the same way he came over the river. So the king lay that night at Donnington-castle, and all the army about him.

The king had not yet done all he meant to do, before he took up his winter quarters, and was willing that the enemy should have an opportunity to fight with him, if they desired it: and therefore, on the Sunday morning the tenth of November, his majesty marched with all his cannon and ammunition over the heath from Donnington, over a fair campaign, to Lamborne; in which march, some of the enemy's horse attempted his rear, but were repulsed with loss; many being slain, and some taken prisoners. There the king quartered that night and the next day, to refresh his men for the ill lodging they had endured at Donnington; having sent some persons of great reputation and interest to Marlborough, to make large provisions for him and his army. And then, since he heard the enemy

lay still at Newbury, he marched to Marlborough; where he found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon the relief of Basing, which was now again distressed; the enemy having, as is said before, begirt it closely, from the time that Gage had relieved it. He had[e] a great mind to do it with his whole army, that thereby he might draw the enemy to a battle: but, upon full debate, it was concluded, "that "the safest way would be to do it by a strong "party; that one thousand horse should be drawn "out, every one of which should carry before him "a bag of corn, or other provisions, and march so "as to be at Basing-house the next morning after "they parted from the army; and then every trooper "was to cast down his bag, and to make their re-"treat as well as they might:" and colonel Gage, who had so good success before, was appointed to command this party; which he cheerfully undertook to do. The better[f] to effect it, Hungerford was thought the fitter place to quarter with the army, and from thence to despatch that party: so his majesty marched back to Hungerford, which was half way to Newbury: the enemy was in mean time marched from thence to Basing, which they thought would, upon the sight of their whole army, presently have yielded; but finding the marquis still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the winter war, and so retired all their force from thence, and quitted the siege the very day before Gage came thither; so that he easily delivered his provisions, and retired to the king without any inconvenience. His majesty then marched to Farringdon, with some

[e] He had] And he had

[f] The better] And the better

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hope to have surprised Abingdon in his way; but he found it too well provided; and so after he had considered where to quarter his horse, which had formerly [g] had their head quarter at Abingdon, and those places which were now under the power of that governor, he returned to Oxford; where he arrived, to the universal joy, on the three and twentieth of November; a season of the year fit for all the troops to be in their winter quarters.

The king returns to Oxford.

The king was exceedingly pleased to find how much the fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgment of it to them. And the governor, sir Arthur Aston, having, some months before, in the managing his horse in the fields, caused him to fall, had in the fall broken his own leg [h], and, shortly after, been compelled to cut it off; so that, if he recovered at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active service; his majesty resolved to confer that government upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favour, and sending him a warrant for one thousand pounds a year pension for his life, he gave him notice; and then, to the most general satisfaction of all men, he conferred that government upon colonel Gage, whom he had before knighted. Sir Arthur Aston was so much displeased with his successor, that he besought the king to confer that charge upon any other person; and when he found that his majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some lords to come to him, who he thought were most zealous in religion, and desired them to

[g] formerly] hitherto

[h] his own leg] his leg

tell the king from him, "that, though he was him- "self a Roman catholic, he had been very careful "to give no scandal to his majesty's protestant sub- "jects; and could not but inform him, that Gage "was the most Jesuited papist alive; that he had "a Jesuit who lived with him; and that he was "present at all the sermons among the catholics; "which he believed would be very much to his ma- "jesty's disservice." So much his passion and animosity overruled his conscience. 1644.

The king liked the choice he had made; and only advised the new governor, by one of his friends, "to "have so much discretion in his carriage, that there "might be no notice taken of the exercise of his "religion:" to which animadversion he answered, "that he never had dissembled his religion, nor ever "would; but that he had been so wary in the exer- "cise of it, that he knew there could be no witness "produced, who had ever seen him at mass in Ox- "ford, though he heard mass every day; and that "he had never been but once at a sermon, which "was at the lodging of sir Arthur's daughter, to "which he had been invited with great importunity, "and believed now that it was to entrap him." But the poor gentleman enjoyed the office very little time; for within a month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break down Culham-bridge near Abingdon, where he intended to erect a royal fort, that should have kept that garrison from that side of the country, he was shot through the heart with a musket bullet. Prince Rupert was present at the action, having approved, and been much pleased with the design, which was never pursued after his death; and in truth the king sustained a wonderful loss in

BOOK VIII. 1644.

his death; he being a man of great wisdom and temper, and one among[i] the very few soldiers, who made himself to be universally loved and esteemed.

Though the king's condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the summer, he had reason to expect, (he had broken and defeated two armies of the parliament, and returned into his winter quarter with advantage, and rather with an increase than diminution of his forces,) yet his necessities were still the same, and the fountains dried up from whence he might expect relief; his quarters shortened and lessened by the loss of the whole north: for after the battle of York, the Scots returned to reduce Newcastle, which they had already done, and all other garrisons which had held out for the king; and when that work should be throughly and sufficiently done, it must be expected that army should again move southward, and take such other places, as the parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves.

[i] and one among] and among

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, A.

REFERRED TO IN PAGE 95.

THE earl of Essex's army was so weakened by these defeats, and more by the sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near unquiet and restless enemies; and the factions and animosities at London required his presence there; and he thought the army would be sooner recruited there than at so great a distance; so that about the beginning of May, or soon after, he marched from Thame to London, where he found jealousy and contention enough, leaving his army quartered about St. Alban's. There was newly discovered a design amongst some citizens of name, with the privity of members of both houses of the best rank, to compel the parliament by force to make peace with the king, the correspondence between the persons of honour and the citizens being managed by Mr. Waller, who, upon a light discovery made by a false servant who had overheard some discourses, very frankly confessed all he knew, named lords and ladies, and gentlemen and merchants, whereof some were condemned and executed, and others of all sorts imprisoned. The relation of that whole affair, and his miserable behaviour in it, deserved to be the part of a more formal discourse. It was not thought prudent to examine that business to the bottom, in which they found very considerable persons engaged or privy; but having taken the lives of some with all the circumstances of terror, causing them to be executed in the streets before their own doors, in the sight of their neighbours; whereof one was a gentleman of good reputation, who had married the sister of Mr. Waller, and had been very assistant to him in his education, whom he sacri-

ficed now without the least reluctancy. They thought it best to take the words of all the members of both houses for their own indemnity, by their severally pronouncing a solemn protestation and vow, that they had no hand or privity in that design or plot; and in which they promised always to adhere to the parliament, and to assist the forces raised by the parliament against the army raised by the king, which was an expression never before heard of; and so all jealousies were extinguished, no man refusing or pausing to take it, choosing rather to run the hazard of that, than to be made a spectacle as their other friends were; though as soon as they had secured themselves by that sacred vow, they made what haste they could to the king for better security, and where they might procure God's pardon as well as the king's, without incurring any danger for asking it. Mr. Waller would have been glad to have got his own liberty at the same price, or of any other oath or vow; but he was kept in prison, and continually threatened with death, which he feared and abhorred, till at last he redeemed himself at a ransom of ten thousand pound, to supply the affairs of the parliament; and as much more spent upon divines and other intercessors, besides marrying a wife whose friends had contributed to his absolution; and besides the disposing them to accept all this by a speech pronounced by him at the bar of the house of commons, of the greatest flattery and the greatest falsehood; such a meanness and lowness of spirit, that life itself was no recompense for it.

Whilst the affairs of the parliament were in this distraction, the king recovered great reputation, and the season of the year being fit for action, all discontents and factious murmurings were adjourned to the next summer. Sir Ralph Hopton, and that handful of gentlemen which in the beginning of the troubles had been forced to seek refuge in Cornwall, had, with the countenance and assistance of some faithful persons there, so good success, that they had mastered all unquiet spirits in that county, and had sent to the king, that if his majesty would supply them with some troops of

horse and ammunition, of which they stood in great need, they would march into Somersetshire, and there wait his majesty's farther commands. The queen soon after her landing, and before she could be ready for her own march, sent a good supply of arms and ammunition to Oxford, where there was so great want of it, that if the earl had come before Oxford, there was not powder enough for the action of four hours, nor a hundred spare arms in the magazine. This seasonable supply being now come, the king thought it necessary to give such a countenance to his Cornish troops (for the whole body was raised in Cornwall) as might reduce all the western counties to his devotion, where though the parliament had in every country, Cornwall now excepted, some garrisons upon the sea-coast, yet they consisted only of the inhabitants and men drawn out of the adjacent villages, and they could not all together send out a party of horse and foot strong enough to give any trouble to the little Cornish army, or to interrupt their march.

The principal gentry of Somersetshire were now in Oxford, and were all joint suitors to the king to send the marquis of Hertford again into the west; and both the king and the marquis consented to it; and the king appointed them all to meet every day at the chancellor of the exchequer's lodging, whom he commanded to assist them, in adjusting all that was to be done in order to a present march; the king declaring what troops he would spare for that service, and what ammunition should be ready: the rest they were to advance by their own industry and with their own money; for it was in secret that the king had none. The marquis himself was content to come to the chancellor of the exchequer's lodging to confer with the gentlemen, and every man subscribed what he would provide before he went out of the town, and what he would undertake to have ready in several counties where his interest lay, and some brought in money towards carrying on the work; so that in few days a great advance seemed to be made. But now the fame of new successes in the west, and the general good inclinations of the several counties, and the visible dis-

tractions at London, raised new thoughts; and whereas before nothing was thought of, but how to convoy this body of Cornish foot, which had performed so many brave actions, after the petty garrisons in the country should be suppressed, which could not take very much time, to increase the body of the king's army, that it might march near London, if it should appear counsellable, it being hoped that those western gentlemen would be presently able to raise strength enough in their several counties to keep these in peace and quiet; it was now thought necessary, upon the stock and credit of those forces, and the good conjuncture to raise a new army, which should never join with the king's, but after subduing the lesser garrisons might take Portsmouth, and so visit Sussex and those parts even to Surrey and Kent, where there were likewise some undertakers to be ready to expect and assist them. And now, not only those officers who had undertaken to raise troops and regiments to bring into the king's army, for which they had received commissions, and found they could not perform, desired to be a part of the new army; but many others, who were weary of their superior officers in the army, or hoped to be superiors, were all contriving how to carry away the troops they had into this army, where they expected to find more benefit and preferment; and the marquis was willing to hearken to any of these propositions as the best way to increase his own strength, and so consented to the making general officers for a royal army, without thinking upon his old friends, who had raised that body in Cornwall, and were of quality and abilities for command superior to most of this new model, and could never submit to be commanded by them.

Prince Rupert, who had always looked upon the interest and credit of the marquis of Hertford as somewhat that eclipsed him, and seeing him like now to be in the head of a royal army, which was to be increased with troops drawn from his command, used all the means he could by himself, and those few others who were trusted by him, that the king might be persuaded that his brother prince Maurice

(who had only a regiment in the army) would be fit to be made general of this army. The king always loved his family immoderately, and with notable partiality, and was willing to believe that their high quality could not be without all those qualities and qualifications which were equal to it, if they had an opportunity to manifest those endowments, easily entertained that overture, and believed the marquis himself would easily resign his pretences, and be contented to serve under a grandson of king James, and the king's nephew. He made choice of the chancellor of the exchequer to dispose the marquis to this condescension, but he did not only excuse himself from undertaking the office, but used all the means and endeavours he could to dissuade the king from his design, telling him, that he thought it easy to dissuade the marquis from undertaking the enterprise, which nothing but affection to his majesty's service could dispose him to, the marquis loving his ease, and abhorring any fatigue, and having no military quality but courage, in which he abounded: but if his majesty would have him engaged in the enterprise, he would not find that he would take any inferior command; which his majesty upon further endeavour found to be true; and judging that the presence of the marquis was absolutely necessary for the disposing and reconciling all those western counties to his service, his fortune, which was very great, lying in many of them, he appointed his nephew prince Maurice to be lieutenant general under the marquis, which nobody believed would produce any good effect, there being no two men of more contrary natures and dispositions. The prince never sacrificed to the Graces, nor conversed amongst men of quality, but had most used the company of ordinary and inferior men, with whom he loved to be very familiar. He was not qualified with parts of nature, and less with any acquired; and towards men of the best condition, with whom he might very well have justified a familiarity, he maintained at least the full state of his birth, and understood very little more of the war, than to fight very stoutly when there was occasion. The marquis was of a very civil and

affable nature, and knew well what respect to pay to the other, if he were fairly encouraged to it; but he was withal very great hearted, and when more was expected, he would give less than was due: nor was there any third person of quality and discretion, who had interest enough in either of them to prevent misunderstandings, which there were too many industrious enough to foment: so that at their leaving Oxford, (which was about the middle of May,) it was not hard to divine that that subordination would not last long, nor produce any good effects.

APPENDIX, B.

REFERRED TO IN PAGE 115.

FOR six or seven days there were continual skirmishes, Waller retiring with great order and little loss, and the marquis advancing with some little advantage, till they came near Bath; and then Waller, having drawn a regiment or two of foot from the garrison of Bristol, and others out of the country, by the credit and countenance of Hungerford and Popham, appeared near Lansdown, an open plain within two miles of Bath, where both sides drew up in good order, having room enough. The action was performed on both sides with courage and resolution, till the night parted them, when Waller drew to the lower ground, to the shelter of a hedge and wall. Many officers and gentlemen of quality fell on both sides, and if the Cornish foot had not stood very firm, when the horse was shaken, it would have proved a sad day; but sir Bevil Greenvil, in the head of his pikes, bore the shock of Waller's horse, and broke them, and forced them to retire, though himself lost his life in the service, to the universal grief of the army, and indeed of all who knew him. He was a gallant and a sprightly gentleman, of the greatest reputation and interest in Cornwall, and had much contributed to all the service that had been done there, and to the leading the army out of the country; and by the gentleness of his spirit, accompanied with courage and authority, had restrained much of the licence, and suppressed the murmur and mutiny, to which that people were too much inclined, especially after they were joined to the marquis's troops, and made subject to the command of new officers. All men exceedingly lamented his loss at the time he fell, and had cause to renew the lamentation very

often afterwards. Though the day had proved sad and melancholy enough, the evening was by much the more tragical; for when the troops were content to breathe on both sides, some of the officers repairing to the artillery to see in what state it was, and to give order to send ammunition to those places where it was wanted, by what accident was never known, a waggon of powder was blown up, which blew up and killed all the persons about it, whereof some were of name. Col. Thomas Sheldon, who commanded prince Maurice's regiment of horse, was at some distance from it, yet his horse was killed under him, and himself so hurt from head to foot, that he died within two days, a gentleman of great courage and generally beloved; and (which made up the tragedy) sir Ralph Hopton, whose name had been much and deservedly magnified in all the western service, being yet farther from the waggon, was by the blast of the powder thrown from his horse, which was killed, and so hurt, that he was looked upon as dead for many days, though, by the diligence of his servants, with God's blessing, he recovered afterwards to give signal marks of his fidelity to the king; but the marks of that ill accident were never worn out, and deprived him of that gracefulness and lustre in his person and countenance, which he formerly had.

In the morning after this battle, it appeared that Waller had drawn off all his men in the night, leaving lighted matches in the wall and hedge, to amuse the enemy; which raised their spirits very much, and was an evident sign that the victory remained on the marquis's part, and gave them cause to believe that the loss was very great on that side, and that they should be troubled no more with him; so that after a day's repose in the neighbour villages, which was in many respects necessary, the marquis continued his march towards Oxford by the way of Chippenham; but quickly found that Waller, with the same repose, and the fresh supplies he received every day from the country, attended upon his rear very near, so that both horse and foot were engaged every day, and they now found the loss of the waggon of

powder which was blown up at Lansdown, for they had not enough left to make a stand, or to line the hedges to secure their rear, and keeping the enemy back; so that when they came to the Devizes, an open market town in Wiltshire, of receipt enough for the men, they found it necessary that all the foot, their cannon, and their sick and wounded men, which had necessarily made their march slow, should remain there, whilst the horse went away, as they easily might, to Oxford; from whence they doubted not to send fresh succour to the rest before they should be overpressed or overpowered by Waller, who was not yet come out, and found difficulties enough in his pursuit. When they came into the Devizes, they found they had not match enough to keep their guards, so that both the marquis and prince Maurice in the night thought fit likewise to leave them, and so make haste to Oxford, where the old jealousies between the prince and the marquis were presently revived; the friends of either making all the disadvantageous reports they could of the other, whilst most men thought neither of them had done honourably in abandoning the army, and coming themselves to call for help. In the mean time the small army in the Devizes was upon the matter left without command; for the forces which had been brought or raised by the marquis, and were much less in number than the Cornish, would only obey the officers they had known, and the lord remained so ill, and so obliged not to come into the air, that he would not assume the command, whom all would obey; notwithstanding all which, and though Waller was now come before the town, and summoned them, the officers agreed so well, and took pains by beating all the bed-cords in the town into matches, and barricadoing the avenues, that Waller durst not assault them, so that they relied upon succour in time; and expected it accordingly, and without any other impatience than giving account to Oxford of the truth of their condition.

This sudden unexpected news, for the last account had brought the issue of the battle at Lansdown, where the victory was understood to be on the king's side, or at least

the enemy to be dismayed, raised such a damp at Oxford, (as the ebb and flows of fortune made always great impressions there,) that all men were dispirited, and the arrival of the prince and the marquis in the break of the day, spread the rumour through the town that that army was totally lost. The queen was now come from York, and upon her march towards Oxford; and the king had sent to her, that he would not fail to meet her such a day at a place a good day's journey from Oxford; and that appointment must of necessity hold, and good troops attend the king, who was to march very near the garrison of Warwick, belonging to the parliament. However it was evident that if the Devizes was not instantly relieved, that gallant party must be lost. It was therefore quickly resolved, that Wilmot, lieutenant general of the horse, should march away with a good party of about 1200 horse and some dragoons, there being sent before a regiment of horse under the command of the earl of Crawford, with a supply of as much powder and match as could well be carried by the troopers on their horses, which was lost, and that regiment disordered by the enemy, which had blocked up all the passages to the town. Waller had not so soon notice of the approach of the king's horse, as his vigilance might have expected, and he received it first by the interception of a messenger, who was sent to inform those in the town of it, that they might be ready to draw out as soon as the enemy could be obliged to draw off; and upon this advertisement, and fearing to be enclosed between the horse which were coming, and the foot of the town, which he knew to be superior in courage to his, and having great confidence in his horse, he drew off his horse, foot, and cannon to an open plain piece of ground, upon the top of a steep hill from the town, and about a mile's distance from thence, called Roundway hill, where the enemy was to pass, and there he put his men in order, and expected them. Wilmot, finding them in this posture, with horse, foot, and cannon, much superior to him in number, and hearing nothing of the foot from the town, though he had made all signs to them from another

part of the hill, according to what he had appointed them to expect by his messenger, that body of foot being the strength upon which he relied, knew not what to do; but calling his officers together, amongst whom there was the earl of Carnarvon, who was general of the horse under the marquis of Hertford in the west, and had been engaged in all the actions with Waller, and so knew his manner of fighting, who came now only as a volunteer in the regiment of sir John Byron, they all found it necessary to fight, since they could not expect the foot longer than the enemy would give them leave; and observing that Waller had placed all his horse in several small bodies at some distance each from other, and all between them his foot and cannon, Carnarvon said that the regiment of cuirassiers, who were all covered with armour, and commanded by sir Arthur Haslerig, and which stood nearest to them, were the men upon whom Waller principally depended, and therefore desired Wilmot that their whole body might charge them; and if they could rout them, it was probable it might have a good effect upon their whole army: which advice being followed, had the effect desired; for that body being charged by all the king's horse, though they stood well, and longer than was expected, could not bear that shock; and when they were broken, they fell upon their own next body of horse, and disordered them, and all their horse fell upon and into their body of foot, and routed them more than the enemy could have done; and thereupon Waller himself, Haslerig, sir Edward Hungerford, and such other officers as were best horsed, without making farther resistance, fled the nearest way in all the confusion imaginable; many running their horses down the steep of the hill, and so falling, were either killed with the fall, or so hurt that they became prisoners. By this time the body of the foot in the Devizes was come up, without having received any other advertisement, till after they came out of the town, than the seeing the enemy in some disorder drawing themselves together from their several quarters, which at first they believed to be upon design, but soon after, by their march towards the plain, they con-

cluded that the relief was come from Oxford; and so they quickly got their men together who were in health, (for sir Ralph Hopton and many other sick and wounded men were still left behind in the town;) and when they were drawn out, they received another direction from Wilmot, which way they were to march; and so they came to the top of the ground when the enemy was in that confusion, and lost no time in falling upon the foot, to revenge what they had suffered, and sacrificed too many to the memory of their beloved Greenvil. In this total general defeat many were slain, without the loss of any officer of name on the king's side, and about twelve hundred men taken prisoners, whereof many of their considerable officers, all their baggage and cannon, and a rich booty to the soldiers, who upon this good fortune had leisure to repose themselves in the quarters they were before weary of, and to expect new orders from the king.

APPENDIX, C.

REFERRED TO IN PAGE 139.

THERE had been the winter before an unhappy design for the surprise of Bristol, upon intelligence with some citizens not maturely ripened; which being discovered, an alderman, and another citizen of good account, had been tried before a council of war, and executed in the streets, and many others had fled out of the city, which, though it disappointed the design, had exceedingly enraged a great part of the city, which longed to be freed from the yoke of servitude they were under. And now the strength of that garrison had been drawn out, and lost under Waller at Roundway, very few of them returning to Bristol, so that it seemed very counsellable to the king to make his first enterprise upon Bristol, where the little reputation the governor Nathaniel Fiennes had in war, and the general prejudice the city and country had against him, made the attempt appear the more hopeful; and it was therefore resolved accordingly. The marquis of Hertford, with prince Maurice, was to return to his western troops, who remained about the Devizes still, and with them to march to that side of Bristol which lay next to Somersetshire, and to quarter as near the city as they conveniently could, that nothing might go in or out. And prince Rupert was with the horse and foot of the king's army to march and quarter upon that side of the city that lies next Gloucestershire, to straiten it likewise as close as on the other side; and a day was agreed upon, that they might compute both armies might by that time be come to their several quarters, and then the generals on both parts might consult and conclude what was farther to be done for the attacking the town; and they did all meet accordingly.

Upon a full conference, it was agreed that the next morning they would assault the city in several places at once; the marquis with his forces on that side on which he was quartered, and the prince on the other. The works on the Somersetshire side being much higher and stronger, and the graff deeper than they were on the Gloucestershire side, where prince Rupert lay; and the very place assigned for the marquis's assault was much harder than many other places upon that line, which might with less danger and as much benefit have been entered; which made the Cornish (who use to say what they think) murmur loudly, that they were carried thither to be paid for the service they had done. On the western side, after a continued assault of near three hours, they were beaten off, and upon the matter quite gave over the assault, with a very great loss of common men and inferior officers of very good reputation. There fell likewise sir Nicholas Slanning and colonel Trevannion, the heads of the Cornish, with sir Bevil Greenvil and sir Brutus Buck, colonel of the marquis's own regiment. Sir Nicholas Slanning was brought off the field, his thigh broken with a musket bullet, of which he died a fortnight after, when the king was in Bristol. He was a young gentleman of about 25 years of age, of a small stature, but very handsome, and of a lovely countenance, of excellent parts and invincible courage. He was master of a fair estate in land, and had the government of Pendennis castle, and was vice-admiral of the Castle; both which offices and commands in so dexterous and active a hand were of infinite benefit to the king's service; he being a man well loved and obeyed, and there being an entire friendship between him, Greenvil, and Trevannion, with a firm conjunction with John Arundel of Trerice, and his two sons John and Richard, both very active men, and in command. Cornwall was quickly disposed to serve the king, as soon as sir Ralph Hopton, and the other gentlemen named before, came into that county. He was of a very acceptable presence, great wit, and spake very well, and with notable vivacity, and was well believed by the people. He was in all the actions and in all parties where

there was action, in signal command, and never received hurt or wound, till this last fatal assault. He told the chancellor of the exchequer, who visited him after the king came to Bristol, that he had always despised bullets, having been so used to them, and almost thought they could not hit him. He professed great joy and satisfaction in the losing his life in the king's service, to whom he had always dedicated it, and desired the chancellor (with whom he had always friendship) to recommend his wife and his son (who was born the very day upon which he received his wound at Pendennis castle) to the king's favour, and died the next day, to the great grief of all who knew him. Trevannion was about the same age of 24 or 25 years, the eldest, if not the only son of his father, sir Charles Trevannion, and newly married to the daughter of Arundel of Trerice. He was a steady young man, of a good understanding, grea courage, but of few words; yet what he said was always to the purpose. Both he and Slanning were members of the house of commons, and the more abhorred the rebellion by having been present, and observed by what foul artifices it had been promoted; and as they always gave what opposition they could to those practices whilst they remained there, so they were amongst the first who drew their swords to suppress them. Brutus Buck was an old soldier, having been an officer of a very good esteem in the voyage to Rochelle, and in the action in the isle, and ever after lived in a command the king had given him in the Isle of Wight, with the reputation of a civil and a stout gentleman. He was killed in the head of his regiment with a musket bullet in the forehead, when he was getting upon the wall, and fell dead in the graff. He was a man generally beloved, and had no enemies.

On prince Rupert's side, where the line indeed was very weak and low, but there were two or three high castles of earth, upon which store of cannon was planted with many musketeers, all which infested those who assaulted the line, which was otherwise slenderly guarded; but there was within the line a great space of meadow ground, upon

which two or three regiments of horse might be drawn up, who might quickly have broken such foot as should enter the line, the assault here was more prosperous and successful, though with the loss of many, and some very excellent persons. The line was entered in the weakest place, and where it was least guarded; and they who entered it easily made way for some horse to follow them, who quickly made the few horse which were placed within to give ground, and retire into the town, which raised confusion there; and some more of the horse and foot of the prince's likewise entered the line, and leaving those castles behind them, marched directly into the suburbs, where the streets being narrow, many soldiers and officers were killed from the windows and tops of houses, which stopped their advance; and no doubt, if the governor had understood his business well, that party which was entered might very well have been driven back, before any other could have come to their assistance. But the confusion within the town was very great, and the apprehension that the army was already entered, and that they should all be made a prey to the soldiers, if there were no articles made and conditions obtained for them, made the people so clamorous, that the governor yielded to their importunities, and sent a trumpet to the prince to treat upon surrender; which overture was easily accepted, and upon hostages sent, colonel Gerrard, a haughty young man, of a very different temper from col. Fiennes, was sent to treat with him. He talking loud to the people of firing the town, if they did not forbear shooting out of the windows, which they continued to do, hectored the governor himself to such a temper, that he forthwith gave orders to forbear all acts of hostility in all places, which they in the castles hardly obeyed, but still continued to shoot, and did much mischief; and then concluded upon the ordinary conditions, to march out of the town the next day with his troops, and to surrender the city to the king, which was done accordingly, to the no small joy of the commanders.

Of the prince's side there fell that day many good officers,

amongst which were colonel Harry Lunsford, and his lieutenant colonel Nathaniel Moyle, both officers of the first rank in their reputation of courage and conduct, and were both killed out of a window, when they had entered the suburbs; the former dead on the place, the other lived near a month, and then died. Colonel John Bellasis had a hurt of a very strange nature, and worth the mentioning. Being a gallant gentleman, of much honour and courage, as he was marching in the head of his regiment of foot, with his sword drawn in his hand, upon which a musket bullet struck the flat of the blade with such force that it bowed like a bow, and remaining still in his hand, was driven upon his forehead, that he fell to the ground, but rose presently of himself without help, and seeing no blood, he believed the hurt not considerable, and continued in his business; but he found it necessary within less than an hour to be carried off, his head with the contusion for many days swelling to that prodigious proportion, that when the king came to Bristol, and the chancellor of the exchequer went to see him, he knew not who he was, there being no appearance of eyes or nose, so that it was thought trepanning would be the only way to preserve him, and that not a certain one: but he having his senses very perfect, would not endure so rude a remedy; and after the swelling was at the height, it declined and sunk as fast; and when the army removed from Bristol, was well enough, and attended his charge in it, without any mark or blemish. The lord viscount Grandison was then likewise wounded with a musket-shot in the leg, of which, though he was carried to Oxford, and thought past danger, he died two months after. He was a very beautiful person, of great virtue and eminent courage, and of manners not to be corrupted. He was a very great loss, when the age stood in need of such examples, and was particularly lamented by the chancellor of the exchequer with very vehement passion, there being a most entire friendship between them for many years without any intermission.

The town being thus happily taken, (though the price that was paid for it was grievous,) the old embers of jea-

lousy and discontent, which had been lightly raked up and covered between the two princes and the marquis of Hertford, broke out now into a flame. The town was within the marquis's commission, and so he concluded that the government was in his disposal, and designed it to sir Ralph Hopton, who by this time was past all danger, and in all respects was preferable to any man that could be named. On the other side, prince Rupert believed the right of conferring it to be in him, since it was taken by the forces under his command, when those under the marquis were beaten off; and he had a purpose to confer it upon sir Arthur Aston, who had been governor of Reading, and lost much reputation there in respect of his nature and manners, not of his soldiery, which stood as it did before. But when the prince had thought better of his own power, and weighed the difference between sir Ralph Hopton and sir Arthur Aston in the eyes of the world, he changed his purpose, and both the prince and the marquis sending expresses to give the king notice of the success, the prince made it his humble suit to the king that his majesty would bestow the government of Bristol upon his highness; and the marquis, after he had given an account of the taking the town, in which he gave all the attributes to the prince which were due to him, he told the king that he had conferred the government upon sir Ralph Hopton, which he knew his majesty would approve, since no man could be so fit for it, nor had deserved better from his majesty. *The remainder of this relation is inserted in the Life of lord Clarendon.*

APPENDIX, D.

REFERRED TO IN PAGES 289 and 299.

THERE was not the same union and concurrence in the king's quarters. As soon as the king came to Oxford, instead of any man's contributing his advice and assistance for what was next to be done, every man took great freedom in censuring what was past. Many cried out upon the sitting down before Gloucester, not only as a very unskilful act, but perfidiously designed by those who wished not that the king's affairs should prosper, and were corrupted by the parliament; and this clamour was improved by the discourses of those who had left them after the loss of Bristol, and reported that the prime leaders and governors in both houses then declared, that all their hope was, that the king would be persuaded to engage before Gloucester, which if he should not do, and marched directly towards London, they were undone; and that out of the apprehension of such a resolution in the king, that many of the principal and most obnoxious members and citizens, who had been most active, had shipped their estates for Holland, and kept vessels ready for their own transportation. But as the first was a calumny without the least ground and colour, there being then no person of credit with the king in his counsels, who was not of unblemished integrity to his cause; so the other fancy of marching towards London was much more unreasonable than the course which was taken. For besides that the king's army was exceeding small (I speak of the body of his foot) when he marched from Bristol, though it increased wonderfully before Gloucester, it cannot be imagined, if the earl of Essex was able to draw out the train-bands and auxiliaries of London, (which was the strength

of his army,) to march as far as Gloucester, he would have engaged a far greater body of them to have met the king nearer London. Indeed if, after the taking of Bristol, the king had marched into Hampshire, and so advanced through Sussex (which stood generally well inclined to his service) into Kent, where there were about that time some commotions and insurrections of the people, which, being seconded and formed, might have grown very terrible to the parliament, and without any countenance from the king gave them some trouble, and were not dispersed without blood; and at the same time, if the marquis of Newcastle, (for the king had now conferred that dignity upon him,) who had then totally defeated the lord Fairfax, and driven him into Hull, which was the only shelter the enemy had in that large, rich, populous county, had advanced with his full power into the associated counties, through Lincolnshire into Norfolk, where the people had suffered long and grievously under the parliament; and had now taken so much courage, that the town of Lynn, a port and harbour strongly situated, by the virtue of the inhabitants especially, and encouragement of some gentlemen of the county, retired thither, shut the gates against the earl of Manchester, and endured near a month's siege; it might very much have troubled the parliament to have divided their strength into two armies, and the distempers within the city of London would probably have produced some confusion, when it should have been manifest that that city was to provide out of itself two armies to send out, and power enough for its own security and defence. But since the unhappy temper of the north was such, that it was rather thought to carry that victorious and flourishing army before the walls of Hull, than to make a progress southward, where probably it would not have met a resistance it could not remove, I am still of the opinion, that the king's sitting down before Gloucester (however it succeeded) was the next best, and in reason to be preferred far before marching towards London, or going nearer London upon its single confidence. And no doubt, according to the fate in war, where what-

soever proves unfortunate in the execution is concluded to be improvident in the counsel, if the enterprise upon Bristol (which was in reason more likely to have miscarried, than the other was afterwards upon Gloucester) had not succeeded, that counsel (which upon the event was generally applauded) would have been as severely censured; and it would have been then thought, (and it may be upon as much reason,) that upon the defeat of Waller, when the body of Cornish foot was unfoiled, and the king's forces received so great an addition by the access of that guard which attended the queen out of the north, was the time to have found out the earl of Essex's broken and dismayed army, and to have followed them to the walls of London, with messages of grace and favour to the city, and overtures of pardon to the houses; and that the winning of Bristol was not to be put into the scale against the other opportunity.

Others, who approved, or at least thought the engaging before Gloucester was not uncounsellable, were as censorious of the conduct afterwards, that a body of seven thousand horse (for at that time the king's army consisted of no less) should suffer the earl of Essex to march four days together over the fairest campaign in England without disturbance, and that the whole army should not give him battle before he descended the hill into Gloucester; that it had been easy, by the advantage of the situation, and so many horse as might have been spared for that purpose, to have kept the besieged within their walls, and to have fought upon great advantage even before the town; that after the city was relieved, the earl's marching twenty miles on his journey towards London, before it was known what was become of him, argued most supine negligence in some officers, and that after the enemy was overtaken, and prevented at Newbury upon so great advantage, the beginning the battle without order, and against the resolution in council, (for which no man was ever afterwards called in question,) was never heard of before in a regular army; and there wanted not some who accused even eminent com-

manders of want of courage as well as conduct in that day's service, and that by such lashity [*lachetè*] an opportunity or two was lost, which being pursued had made the day very glorious to the king, with a great, if not full defeat of the enemy. Which aspersions may be presumed to proceed from the melancholy of the loss, and the licence that all men take to censure after such misfortunes, imagining the liberty of discourse to be a kind of justice, when the damage and mischief is universal. Yet it cannot be denied that the spirit, and mettle, and courage of gallant men is not still the same, many being much more daring and cheerful at some times in enterprises of great hazard and apparent danger, than at other times in matters of less difficulty, though of equal concernment: and we often see men very sprightly and vigorously enter upon sharp encounters; and when they find more resistance and opposition than they expected, they grow suddenly weary, and even dismayed, because the enemy is not. Our experience has shewn us many examples of those who have had extraordinary fame of courage in duels, and have gone with a kind of delight always upon such contentions, and yet have been so fearful to walk amongst bullets or within the danger of them, that they have avoided it with great reproach and scandal, when their duty obliged them not to retire or to be absent. On the contrary, others who would enter a breach, or stand in one with a disdain of all shot, have been very hardly drawn (not by any reluctance of conscience) to an emulous contestation with a sword; and when they have entered into it, have behaved themselves marvellous untowardly by the strength and power of their fear. Again, we have known many very worthy men, (and it may be in the first form of gallantry,) who on a sudden surprise of danger unexpected, have confessed great confusion in their countenance and whole demeanour; but upon second thoughts and recollection, or upon a foresight of peril, have composed themselves to a steadiness of temper and resolution, which no disadvantage hath been able to disturb. And on the other side, many who have been quick and undaunted upon exigents and

sudden violent alarums, and upon the prospect and continuance of the hazard, have shrunk below a manly boldness. Lastly, there want no examples of many, who, beyond that degree of their age in which the blood is warmest, and most inclined to adventures, have lain under the just imputation of not daring even to an irresistance of injuries, and yet, being once engaged, and acquainted with the face and custom of danger, have proved hardy and forward to wonder, and, like butchers in a fence-school, with their rude fury, have discountenanced and discomposed the cunning, skill, and resolution of any adversary; and we have been told of others, who, having been nursed up in war, and eaten the bread only of purchase and adventures for the first part of their lives, before their meridian, have declined to so dull an appetite of danger, as if they had not the same souls. Which may persuade us rather, that courage is not the thing we take it to be, than that there are several species and kinds of it; and that all bold actions, and incursions into danger, proceed not from that excellent habit and fearlessness of the mind, which is truly and properly called courage, but from a want of science, and comprehension of the danger a man seems to despise.- He that is ready at all hours, and upon all unnecessary occasions, to enter the field in a duel, it may be, wholly depends upon his own skill and the unskilfulness of his adversary; and though he hath subdued his conscience to a carelessness of shedding blood, and committing a murder, hath not the least apprehension of losing his own life, or of danger in the enterprise; and where there is no apprehension of danger, there is no present exercise of courage; and it may be, many who stoutly advance upon a breach, may not have a sense of the hazard they undergo, but, keeping their old motion they are used to, consider that there are so many more to be hit besides themselves, that there is reason enough to believe they may escape, or, possibly, there may be visibly more danger in running away, than in doing one's duty, and then there goes not much courage to the

election. And if those and such like fancies and imaginations, and other vain passions and affections, had not a great place and force in our most hazardous and desperate undertakings, but that it was a real contempt of death (which true courage presupposes) that carried us on, it were not possible that the approach or threatening of that death, which we seem to invite, in a hurt or a wound, possibly a very easy, slight one, the sight of our own blood could so much confound the present faculties of the mind, that we are more afraid of death than we were before of disgrace. I speak not of the discomfort, and agony, and compunction, which the weakness upon wounds, and effusion of blood and spirits, and the influence of conscience, and sober, pious, and recollected thoughts may bring upon a man, with the sense of the ill he hath done, but of those (as many such there are) who, in the instant of a hurt, in their full vigour, before the blood or spirits have made any other impression upon their strength than the feeling they are hurt, have lost the delight in what they had done, and the will to do more; and have been full of those fears afterwards, which they appeared to have been so much without before. Neither could that man, who without remorse had slain so many men, probably so many friends, in duels, if he had ever seriously thought of meeting death there, with such abominable paleness and trepidation, entertain it, when he is presented to it by the hand of justice as a malefactor; for the results of conscience and repentance settle and confirm the courage to suffer bravely what is either just or unavoidable, not distract and enfeeble it; but all that ugly terror proceeds from the presence of death, which he always feared, and could not now avoid. That courage therefore is the best which is the most opposite to fear; and as fear is nothing else (if you will believe Solomon) but a betraying of the succours which reason offers, so courage is nothing else but such a temper and healthy constitution of mind, as keeps the supplies of reason always ready, and does all things without fear, and leaves nothing undone for fear, which

reason dictates to be his duty; and he that fears to meet death where he should not be, and dares to do his duty against any hazards, will give the best argument of courage, and meet death in a better posture, than they who pretend to seek him in a noise and vapour of bold and unnecessary undertakings.

APPENDIX, E.

REFERRED TO IN PAGE 395.

THESE conclusions being made with reference to Ireland, the king's first care was (if possible) to prevent the storm from Scotland, presuming, that if the parliament were disappointed of that aid, they would consent to such a peace as might be honourable and safe for him. There were many persons of honour of that kingdom, who professed entire submission and devotion to his majesty, and who I believe really were not inclined to that faction which his majesty apprehended. All these were directed privately to be advised and disposed by the marquis of Hamilton, (whom the king had now raised to the dignity of a duke,) who had solemnly promised his majesty, either by his interest in the councils to prevent the resolution to invade England, or by his power, and the assistance of his party, there to resist it; and therefore all those lords and persons of honour, whom the king relied upon, were directed to be entirely guided by him, all that the king desired from his subjects of that his native kingdom being, that they would not rebel. It is very true, many did then wonder that the king would repose so great a trust in the duke, who had at that time the misfortune not to be heartily confided in by his party of either kingdom; for he had had that rare dexterity, from a person the most avowedly odious to Scotland, and the most undoubtedly obnoxious to the justice of England, not only to wind himself out of those labyrinths in which he was thought to be entangled, but into the good opinion and favour of the parliament, and into the full confidence of his own nation, which unusual fortune always is attended by suspicion and jealousy. Notwithstanding all

which, the king could not reasonably avoid the giving him at that time this credit. He was by much, in alliance and dependents, the most powerful man in that kingdom, and so, if he were willing, was unquestionably able to give life and head to any party that should stoutly declare for the king, which no other man in Scotland, how well affected soever, was able to do: for though wary and reserved men might live there, and enjoy their liberty and estates, yet all persons who expressed a public dislike of what they did, found no safety amongst them; and therefore the earl of Mountrose, and some other noblemen, had been forced to fly out of the kingdom, and were now in the king's armies; for which, before any public declaration in Scotland against the king, they were there proclaimed traitors, and all their estates seized on and confiscated. Besides, the king did really believe that all the artifice the duke had used had been only for his own preservation, without diminution of his affection and duty to him; and that when he could no longer be free from engagement in the war, he would sooner be engaged for him than against him. However, as was said before, there was no other man competent for that trust, and it was much better to oblige him by a confidence, than to incense him by prejudice; and himself was very cheerful in undertaking to stop any such enterprise, and continued the same assurance by his frequent letters to his majesty. When the convention of estates was summoned, being their parliament, expressly against the king's consent, and without any colour of warrant from their own laws, the lords who depended upon his direction, came to him to resolve what was to be done by them, alleging they thought it not justifiable in themselves, and very dishonourable to the king, that they should be present at that meeting, which being convened against order, they might easily conclude would proceed as irregularly. The duke told them it was the king's pleasure that he and they should be all present at the convention, and that it was possible they might be there able to direct the violence that was feared; if they could not, he would make such a declaration, if they would join

with him, that should manifest what their opinions were: and by this means they were all, contrary to their own judgment, drawn to sit with, and consequently to countenance, those who were already declared against the king. It is very true that the king had given his consent that they should all go to the convention; for the duke writ him word, that it was their unanimous opinion that it would very much conduce to his service that they should all appear there; that they believed they should be able to make so strong a party, as to cross any solemn act that should reflect upon the public peace, his majesty's honour, or interest: if they could not, having so much reason and justice on their side, then would be the time to enter their protestation against what they could not remedy; and from thence would be the proper rise to engage a party in the kingdom.

Upon this instance, the king returned his approbation that they should not absent themselves. After the convention was begun, it was quickly evident, by their high speeches against the king, and their declared resolutions to invade England, what was to be expected; so that the rest looked when the duke would protest. In a dispute one day, the duke was so sharp in his expressions, as if he would protest, that some of the lords of the other party called upon him in an angry manner to explain himself, whether he meant to protest against their protestings. Whereupon the earl of Lanrick, brother to the duke, stood up and said, that noble lord (the duke) understood himself too well, and the high jurisdiction of that court where they were, to protest against the wisdom of the whole kingdom, and besought their lordships to have a more favourable opinion of him; to which the duke by his silence consented: and so there were no more replies upon the matter. Upon which the other lords, seeing what they looked for and was promised, not only not done, but upon the matter a judgment declared by them upon whom the king relied, that it was not to be done, by degrees withdrew to their houses, and shortly after a proclamation was issued out in the king's own name, relating the great danger his person was in by

the power of the popish and prelatical party in England, and requiring all his subjects of that his native kingdom, from the age of threescore to sixteen, to appear at a day appointed with their arms, when they should be disposed in such manner as was necessary for his relief and rescue, (which is the way used in that kingdom suddenly to form an army.) And to this declaration and proclamation the earl of Lanrick affixed his majesty's own signet, so that no question very many men of the inferior condition (which may justly remove the brand of infidelity and defection from the nation) did really believe they were summoned by the king himself for his defence and redemption out of distress. Shortly after, the covenant was returned out of England with a full approbation, both houses having taken it, and enjoined it through the kingdom. Thereupon the lords of the secret council, and those committees that were appointed to manage the affairs, ordered, that whosoever refused to take the covenant should be proceeded against as an enemy to both kingdoms, and his estate be sequestered, and disposed to the use of the public; the assembly likewise of their kirk pronouncing solemn excommunications against them. Then the duke Hamilton, earl of Lanrick, and all the other lords and persons of quality, who would be thought to be of the king's party, made haste out of Scotland, and not one of them being stayed, though they came with their full equipage, they repaired to the king at Oxford. All discharged themselves of blame, by having no authority of themselves without being directed by the duke, who was so far from quickening them to appear, that when they offered and pressed him that they might draw together, and some of them offered to bring with them one hundred horse, and that they might take the opportunity of a solemn funeral, which was to be solemnized in that kingdom for an honourable lady, at which times great resort uses to be of all the friends and allies of that family; the duke utterly dissented, and absolutely refused to join with them. This and other instances of his wariness was alleged with great temper and sobriety by those who

desired only to appear innocent themselves, not to charge the duke with failing in his duty. But there were others, to wit, the earls of Crawford and Mountrose, the lords Auboyne, Ogleby, Needsdale, and Markey, who barefaced, and in plain English, accused the duke of treason, and disloyalty to the king from the beginning; that he had, in the first stirs within that kingdom, betrayed the trust reposed in him by his majesty, combined with those who invaded the kingdom, and pretended ever since to be for his majesty; and made those late great promises and undertakings, only that he might engross his majesty's confidence to himself, and thereby keep it out of the power of any other persons to do that service, and to hinder their pernicious designs which were against the king and kingdom. Many charges they gave in against him, in writing, of words spoken, and things done, some of ancient date, others of a later, in great derogation of his majesty's honour and service; and they made oath of the truth of their suggestions, which were indeed of a high nature, and against which the best that could be said, was, that they were all his avowed enemies. That which appeared to his majesty to be capable of no excuse, was the betraying him in the case of going to the convention, under pretence that it was the unanimous advice of the lords, when they were in truth unanimously against it; and the earl of Lanrick's setting the signet to that proclamation; which he denied not, alleging, that he was required so to do by the major part of the council, to which he was to submit; and that if he had refused it, the signet would have been taken from him, together with his liberty, so that the same mischief would have accrued to the king, and he should not have been able to escape, to do him service. It may be, it wrought somewhat upon his majesty, that the earl of Mountrose, and those lords whose fortunes were most desperate in Scotland, for adhering to him, undertook yet to give some turn to the torrent of that kingdom, and if they could not be diverted from invading England, to kindle the treasons in their own country, by which they should be recalled to quench the fire in their own

houses, provided that it might not be in duke Hamilton's power to frustrate their designs. Upon the whole matter, as soon as the duke and his brother came to Oxford, the king sent them word that they should keep their chambers; and shortly after sent the duke with a guard of horse to Bristol, and from thence to Pendennis castle in Cornwall, to be there detained in custody as a close prisoner, with all fit and necessary accommodation. The earl of Lanrick, within few days after the removal of his brother, found means, by the assistance of another Scotchman, a sworn servant to the king, to make an escape; and so he got to London; where he was received with such acceptation and joy, as if he had not fled from Scotland out of any notable animosity to their party.

The king directed the lords of his council to consider what was fit to be farther done by him in order to the stopping this inundation, which he was now satisfied was breaking in from Scotland, though the season of the year (the winter being now approached) was thought to be of force enough to keep them for some time from putting their purposes in execution. The lords, albeit they were not forward to conclude that that people always obeyed the dictates of reason and justice and conscience, thought the discourse of an invasion from thence was so distant from all the rules of policy and prudence, and even those obligations in the late treaty, ratified in this present parliament, by which they had so many concessions, that they would not cancel what was due to them, by making a forfeiture of their part; and that they might have no excuse to believe the two houses of parliament, on the behalf of the kingdom, were willing to receive them, they desired his majesty to give all his peers leave to write a letter to the lords of the secret council, and the conservators of the peace between the two kingdoms, to disavow and protest against any such desire, that so, when they considered that there were not above twenty peers privy to their counsels at Westminster, or engaged in their party, (for there were only the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rut-

land, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bolingbroke, the lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Warke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrick, Rochford, and Roberts, who were present, or had proxies there,) and saw the number and names of those who abominated those combinations, they might easily conclude how unacceptable their company would be to the kingdom. The king willingly approved of their advice, and so, about the end of November, they caused this letter to be sent by an express into Scotland, thus directed:

" *To the lords of the privy council, and the conservators of* " *the peace of the kingdom of Scotland.*

" Our very good lords. If for no other reason, yet that " posterity may know we have done our duties, and not sat " still, while our brethren of Scotland were transported with " a dangerous and fatal misunderstanding, that the resolu- " tion now taken amongst them for an expedition into Eng- " land is agreeable to their obligation by the late treaty, " and to the wishes and desires of this kingdom, expressed " by the two houses of parliament, we have thought it ne- " cessary to let your lordships know, that if we had dis- " sented from that act, it could never have been made a " law; and when you have examined and considered the " names of us who subscribe this letter, (who we hope are " too well known to your lordships, and to both kingdoms, " to be suspected to want affection to religion, or to the " laws and liberties of our country, for the defence and " maintenance of which we shall always hold our lives a " cheap sacrifice,) and when you are informed that the earls " of Arundel and Thanet, and the lords Stafford, Stanhope, " Coventry, Goring, and Craven, are in the parts beyond " the seas, and the earl of Chesterfield, Westmoreland, and " the lord Montague of Boughton, under restraint at Lon- " don, for their loyalty and duty to his majesty and the " kingdom, your lordships will easily conclude how very " few now make up the peers at Westminster, there being " in truth not above twenty-five lords present or privy to

" those counsels, or, being absent, consenting or concurring
" with them: whereas the house of peers consists of above
" one hundred, besides minors and recusant lords, neither
" of which keep us company in this address to your lord-
" ships. How we, and the major part of the house of com-
" mons, come to be absent from thence, is so notorious to
" all the world, that we believe your lordships cannot be
" strangers to it; how, several times during our sitting
" there, multitude of the meanest sort or people, with wea-
" pons not agreeing with their condition or custom, in a
" manner very contrary and destructive to the privilege of
" parliament, filled up the way between both houses, offer-
" ing injuries both by words and actions too, and laying
" violent hands upon several members, crying out many
" hours together against the established laws in a most tu-
" multuous and menacing way; how no remedy would be
" submitted to for preventing those tumults; after which,
" and other unlawful and unparliamentary actions, many
" things rejected and settled, upon solemn debate in the
" house of peers, were again, after many threats and me-
" naces, resumed, altered, and determined, contrary to the
" custom and laws of parliaments; and so many of us with-
" drew ourselves from thence, where we could not sit, speak,
" and vote with honour, freedom, and safety, and are now
" kept from thence for our duty and loyalty to our sove-
" reign. And we must therefore protest against any invi-
" tation which hath been made to our brethren of Scotland
" to enter this kingdom with an army, the same being as
" much against their desires, as against the duty of the
" lords and commons of England. And we do conjure your
" lordships, by our common allegiance and subjection under
" our gracious sovereign, by the amity and affection be-
" tween the two nations, by the treaty of pacification, which
" by any such act is absolutely dissolved, and by all obli-
" gations both divine and human, which can preserve peace
" upon earth, to use your uttermost endeavours to prevent
" the effusion of so much Christian blood, and the confu-
" sion and desolation which must follow the unjust invasion

" of this kingdom, which we, and we are confident all true " Englishmen must, interpret as a design of conquest, and to " impose new laws upon us. And therefore your lordships " may be assured, we shall not so far forget our own in- " terests, and the honour of our nation, as not to expose " our lives and fortunes in the just and necessary defence " of the kingdom. But if your lordships in truth have any " doubts or apprehensions that there now is, or hereafter " may be, a purpose to infringe your laws or liberties from " any attempt of this kingdom, we do engage our honour " to your lordships to be ourselves most religious observers " of the act of pacification; and if the breach and violation " do not first begin within that kingdom, we are most con- " fident you shall never have cause to complain of this. " And having thus far expressed ourselves to your lord- " ships, we hope to receive such an answer from you, as " may be a means to preserve a right understanding be- " tween the two nations, and lay an obligation upon us to " continue

" Your lordships most affectionate, humble servants,

" Ed. Littleton, C. S.	E. Peterborough.
" L. Cottington.	E. Kingston.
" D. Richmond.	E. Newport.
" M. Hertford.	E. Portland.
" M. Newcastle.	E. Carbery.
" E. Huntington.	V. Conway.
" E. Bathon.	V. Falconbridge.
" E. Southampton.	V. Wilmot.
" E. Dorset.	V. Savile.
" E. Northampton.	L. Mowbray and Mal-
" E. Devonshire.	travers.
" E. Bristol.	L. Darcy and Coniers.
" E. Berkshire.	L. Wentworth.
" E. Cleveland.	L. Cromwell.
" E. Marlborough.	L. Rich.
" E. Rivers.	L. Paget.
" E. Linsey.	L. Digby.
" E. Dover.	L. Howard of Charleton.

" L. Deincourt.
" L. Lovelace.
" L. Paulet.
" L. Mohun.
" L. Dunsmore.
" L. Seymour.
" L. Herbert.
" L. Cobham.
" L. Capel.
L. Percy.
L. Leigh.
L. Hatton.
L. Hopton.
L. Jermyn.
L. Loughborough.
L. Byron.
L. Withrington."

Whether this clear demonstration would make any impression upon the Scotch nation and counsels or no, the king and all men believed it would have a very useful influence upon the affections and hearts of the people of England, and that they would awake out of those dreams and jealousies which had perplexed their understandings, and, in behalf of the honour and interest of their country, be united against the invasion of a foreign power; and in this respect many were of opinion, who too abstractedly considered rather what should be, than what was like to be, that not only the fame of, but the real marching of the Scots, would much impair the strength and reputation of the parliament. To inculcate this sense throughout the kingdom, the king very prudently resolved of another very useful expedient. Though all inquisitive and discerning men well understood the number and the quality of those few who remained in both houses of parliament at Westminster, by the reverence to whose authority all the contest was made and supported against the king, yet the common people generally believed they had the full numbers, and that there was unity and consent in that body to defend the just liberties and rights of the public; at least the number and condition of those who were absent, or their affections, were not evident enough to be taken notice of; therefore the king thought it worthy of his care to draw all those who were the true and regular members of parliament together to Oxford, and to make use of their advice and counsel, since he could neither receive it, nor they give it, in the place whi-

ther they were at first summoned by his writ, presuming, that, when the kingdom should know that four parts of five of the house of peers, and above a major part of the house of commons, were at Oxford with the king, they would not look upon those at Westminster as the true and full representative body of the whole; and to that purpose he issued out his royal proclamation, declaring the preparations made in Scotland to enter and invade the kingdom, and that they had already actually invaded it, by possessing themselves by force of arms of his town of Berwick, (for thither they sent a garrison as soon as the covenant was agreed,) upon pretence that they were invited thereunto by the desire of both houses of parliament; the which, as he doubted not, all his good subjects of the kingdom would look upon as the most insolent act of ingratitude and disloyalty, and to the apparent breach of the late act of pacification so solemnly made between the kingdoms, and was indeed no other than a design of conquest, and to impose new laws upon this nation. They were not so much as pretending the least provocation or violation from this kingdom, so his majesty was most assured, that the major part of both houses of parliament did from their souls abhor the least thought of introducing that foreign power, to increase and make desperate the miseries of their unhappy country. And therefore, that it might appear to all the world how far the major part of both houses was from such actions of treason and disloyalty, and how grossly those few members remaining at Westminster had and did impose upon his people, his majesty required such of the members of both houses, as well those who had been by the faction of the malignant party expelled for performing their duty to his majesty, and into whose rooms no persons had been since chosen by their country, as the rest who had been driven thence, and all those who, being conscious of their want of freedom, should be now willing to withdraw from that rebellious city, to assemble themselves together at Oxford on Monday the two and twentieth day of January; and all his subjects should see how willing he was to receive advice for the pre-

servation of the religion, laws, and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as lay in his majesty, to restore it to its former peace and security, from those whom they had trusted. And for the better encouragement of those members of either house to resort to him, who might be justly conscious to themselves of having incurred his displeasure, by submitting to or concurring in unlawful actions, and that all the world might see how willing and desirous he was to forget the injuries and indignities offered to his majesty, and, by an union of English hearts, to prevent the lasting miseries which this foreign invasion must bring upon the kingdom, his majesty offered a free and general pardon to all the members of either house, who should at or before the said twenty-second day of January appear at Oxford, and desire the same without exceptions; which, considering the manifest treasons committed against his majesty, and the condition he was now in, improved, by God's wonderful blessing, to a better degree than he had enjoyed at any time since these distractions, was the greatest instance of princely and fatherly care of his people that could be expressed, and which malice itself could not suggest to proceed from any other ground. And therefore he said, he hoped and was confident, that all such who, upon this his gracious invitation, would not return to their duty and allegiance, should be no more thought promoters of the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom, (which this way might be, no doubt, settled and secured,) but persons engaged from the beginning, out of their own pride, malice, and ambition, to bring confusion and desolation upon the country; and to that purpose, having long since contrived the design, had invited and joined with a foreign nation to ruin and extinguish their own. What the good fruit was, which was produced by this counsel and proclamation, will be shortly set forth.

There was about the same time another act of council, which (how impertinent soever it may seem to some men to be remembered) was in itself of great weight, and very gravely deliberated. It seemed very repugnant to the rules

of policy, that, when all overtures of peace were rejected, and all intercourse from the city of London inhibited and interdicted to his majesty's quarters, there should be any permission that that city should be supplied by the commodities and stock of the counties within the king's obedience, which kept up the trade of that rebellious place, and gave it the pride to contest almost with the whole kingdom: and therefore it was propounded, that his majesty would inhibit and forbid by his proclamation all manner of trade with London throughout his quarters; and that all goods and merchandise going to or from that place, without the king's express licence, should be seized on, and forfeited to his own use. The matter was not lightly weighed and concluded, but several days debated before the lords of the council, there being diversity of opinion between many persons of great experience and understanding in the mystery and course of trade, and in the constitution of the counties, whence trade was especially driven with London. Many were of opinion, that his majesty should by no means prohibit it or interrupt it, that the continuance and improvement of it would be of great profit and advantage to the king; besides that the restraint would appear a very ungracious thing to the people; whereas now that whole odium lay upon the parliament; that those who were fled from London, out of their duty and loyalty, had no other means to draw a subsistence and livelihood to them out of the fortunes they had left there, but by commodities sent from London into the king's quarters, for which they received money there, and by that means many well affected persons, still remaining there, sometimes sent supplies to his majesty, which otherwise they would not be able to do; that it supplied the king's quarters with money, whereby the people were enabled to pay their contributions, which otherwise they could not do; and if trade were restrained, the manufactures would immediately be determined, and thereupon the people, in all parts, for want of work, would be in danger to starve; the consequence of which extremity might produce a general insurrection, which would be very perilous

to the king; at best, that the manufactures would be transported in foreign parts, a mischief not to be repaired again by peace itself. On the other side it was pressed with much vehemence, that such an inhibition of trade was absolutely necessary; that the king could lose nothing by it, and would receive notable benefit; that the rebellion was continued, as it had been raised, by the wealth and submission only of the city of London, and any thing that could impair that wealth would remove that submission; that they alone hitherto felt not the miseries of the war, having the same ease and the same plenty which they had formerly enjoyed, which reconciled them, and united them more to the parliament than any inclination of their affections; whereas, if the trade from thence into foreign parts was suppressed, or to a great degree diminished, by not suffering them to receive those commodities from the countries, by which they carried on their trades, they would immediately find themselves impoverished; and the rich men giving over, the poor would not be able to live, and so their patience would quickly leave them, and they would easily discover the way to their redemption. In the mean time the manufactures would receive no discouragement, nor the countries feel any want of money; for the same trade which was by those commodities carried to London, should be driven in those parts under the king's obedience, of Bristol, Weymouth, Exeter, Dartmouth, and the good harbours of Cornwall, whither as well those well affected merchants, who were driven from London, as strangers, would resort, whereby they would be replenished with money, and all other commodities, of what kind soever; for an evidence whereof many merchants present, of great estates and reputation, undertook before the king, that they would within a month take off all the manufacture of wool which should be brought to any of the western ports, whither the clothiers might as easily send them as to London. By this means shipping would much increase, and seamen be maintained in the king's quarters, from whence extraordinary benefit would accrue to his service. The reasons were very weighty

on both sides; and though those latter seemed the stronger, yet it was plain that they were principally grounded upon supposition. For if it should fall out that there was not stock enough to take off the commodities in the king's quarters, as men reasonably considered there would not be, at least not in time, the mischiefs which were offered in the first debate would be in view. But there were two things which prevailed over the king's judgment, and truly reconciled most differences in opinion. The first, a matter of fact: Some clothiers of Reading complained that they had received invitations from their old customers in London to continue their trade thither, assuring them they should receive the same fair correspondence they had formerly; upon which, with the king's leave, they had sent great quantities of cloth thither, which, in respect of the situation of that town, and the benefit of the river, they could not conveniently send to any other place. The effect was, they sold their cloths at Leaden-hall as they used, and at good prices; the which was no sooner done, but the money due to all such of whose affection to the king's service they had any intimation was seized, as the estates of delinquents and malignants, for the use of the parliament; and they only who were favoured by them, as inclined to their party, were suffered to receive the proceeds of their commodities. Upon which the town desired other provision might be made to take off their cloths, and that there might be no trade to London. The other consideration was, that if any inconvenience should be hereafter discovered by the restraint, it might be removed by the giving licences to trade, by which his majesty might be able to settle and regulate trade in such a manner, that it might be profitable to him, and that he might receive such duties upon it, as might be some supply to him, as it paid excise and customs at London, whereby the merchants there should not be able to undersell those who traded in the west, who, for their transportation and insurance, were at a much greater charge than the other. Upon these reasons the king published his express and absolute pleasure against all trade with London, which,

if it had been as well executed as it was deliberated, would without question have proved of singular benefit and advantage to his affairs; but the disorder of the soldier was such, and so great a contempt of all acts of state, that it had not the effect designed, and, in the end, produced no other advantage, than great gains to some particular governors, who, having garrisons near great roads, received great toll for their safe conduct and protection, and sometimes very great seizures of such goods, as thought to have escaped their notice, all which was concerted to their own emolument.

These were the civil preparations and conclusions of council on both sides. In the mean time, both the king's army and the earl of Essex were contented to refresh themselves in their winter quarters, without any notable engagement, both preparing the best they could for the spring, and to be early ready for the field; yet the winter passed not without action. The great preparation that was made at London, &c. *as in page* 448, *line* 1.

END OF VOL. IV.

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